The Outlook

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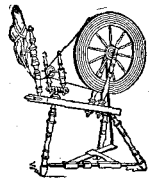

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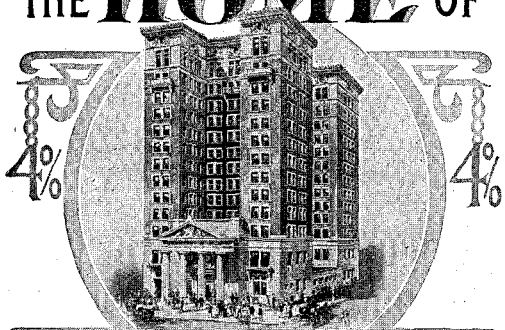

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The Outlook

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1907

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Worth Considering

The proposal of Mr. H. S. Boutell, one of the most active members of the House of Representatives, to reconstruct the hall in which that body sits, is worth careful consideration. No place could be more unsuited for the purposes of a deliberative assembly in which discussion is, or ought to be, the chief means of influence, than the room in which the Lower House of Congress now sits. It is too large for an auditorium; very few men can be heard either by the members or by the listeners in the galleries. As a rule, a debate in the House is a mere thread of continuous sounds through a mass of intermittent and unrelated noises. The majority of members who are engaged in addressing the Chair appear from the galleries to be gesticulating in a noiseless pantomime. Next year there will be nearly four hundred members of the House, and the probability is that this number will be somewhat increased during the next five years. This means a further addition of heavy desks and cumbersome chairs. The House would gain immensely in public interest and efficiency as a debating body, and probably for legislative purposes, if the large desks were removed and the members sat together as compactly as the members of the House of Commons, the most effectively arranged debating body in the world. Now that every member of Congress has office room and a clerk, and that correspondence is carried on largely by dictation, there is no longer any need for the desks. They are, as a matter of fact, provocative of an immense amount of disorder and inattention; the work done at them ought to be done outside. When a member goes into the House, he ought to go there, not to chat with his fellow-members or to write letters to his constituents, but to attend strictly to the business of legislation, and to make his contribution to the discussion. Everything else except what relates strictly to the business of the House and to participation in the debate can be done in the lobbies or committee-rooms, and ought to be done there. Physical conditions have very much to do with the efficiency of deliberative bodies, or with assemblies brought together for discussion. Anything that can be done to rid the House of long-winded speeches to which members are not expected to listen, of the disorder which now prevails, and of the miscellaneous business transacted by members in their seats, will help to restore the House of Representatives to its former position of authority, and will increase its interest as a deliberative assembly.

❀

A Civic Programme

The civic awakening of Chicago is manifesting itself in many different directions. Widespread attention has already been given to the comprehensive plans which the Merchants' Club has asked Mr. Burnham to formulate, and now comes the Hamilton Club, an influential organization, which has formulated a "Civic Programme" of action, quite as suggestive and practical as anything of the kind we have seen for promoting "the city beautiful." It gives first place to the abatement of the smoke nuisance so far "as may be practicable and consistent with the maintenance of industrial prosperity and without unnecessary hardship on owners of factories, office and apartment buildings." To promote the reduction of the smoke nuisance the Club proposes the diffusion of knowledge concerning the best practical means for the consumption of fuel; the use of better grades of coal and the instruction of engineers and firemen in the management of steam plants, the substitution

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of electric power for steam on all locomotives employed in suburban traffic, and, so far as possible, the elimination of all steam locomotives within the city limits. It also declares itself to be in favor of preventing unnecessary noises, which are becoming—or, more accurately, have become—one of the most offensive of municipal evils; and, of course, it favors the study and application of means for the prevention of unnecessary and offensive odors. The Club also, in line with modern thought on the subject, declares for the supervision and control by the city authorities of the character and style of the fronts of buildings hereafter erected in the business center, although why such control should stop short at the business section does not appear, especially as the Club urges the adoption, as soon as may be practicable, of some means by which uniform building lines may be established on boulevards and residence streets, and the promotion of æsthetic features in public works only so far as they may not obstruct or delay the adoption of improvements of a more practical character. The Programme, which contains twenty-seven planks, outlines many comparatively minor items, all of which, however, are important for the full development of the artistic side of the city's life; it includes the introduction of shade trees on all residence streets; the abolition and removal of all obstructions in the streets and on the sidewalks; more artistic gas and electric light posts, patrol boxes, and other public utilities situated in or encroaching upon streets and public places; the regulation of sign-boards with the purpose of their gradual abolition, and especially their disuse on residence streets; a greater degree of activity on the part of the Municipal Art Commission, and the diffusion of a better knowledge of its duties among the citizens, city officials, builders, public and private contractors, and property-owners.

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British and European "Cottoners" in the South

The recent visit of the British, French, Belgian, German, and Austrian cotton-spinners to the United States had a twofold interest apart from the fact that their coming is another evidence of the extent to which the great industries of this country are becoming interwoven with those of Europe. One aspect of this interest was the eighteen days' tour which the visiting spinners—cottoners, as they used to be called in Lancashire—made through the cotton-growing States of the South. The other was the International Cotton Trade Convention, which was in session for three days at Atlanta. The Convention grew out of the closer relations between cotton manufacturers of the New and the Old World that originated during the violently unsettled conditions of the trade due to the phenomenally high prices of cotton in 1903–4. There were then strikes against reductions in wages in the New England centers of the trade, and hundreds of mills were on short time in Lancashire and in all the countries of Europe where there is any cotton manufacturing. The Atlanta Convention was first called; and it was then seen to be expedient that the visiting cotton-spinners should incidentally have opportunities of studying cotton cultivation and cotton handling at first hand. About one hundred and ten spinners from oversea availed themselves of the tour, and traveled by special Pullman train from New York to Washington, and thence to Charlotte, North Carolina, Greenville, South Carolina, Atlanta, and Birmingham; thence via Greenwood, Mississippi, to New Orleans; and from New Orleans by way of Memphis, Little Rock, and St. Louis to Chicago and Toronto. In this way the visiting spinners, of whom sixty were from Lancashire and the others from the European countries already named, traveled some four thousand six hundred miles. Everywhere in the cotton-growing country enthusiastic receptions and many social attentions awaited them; and everywhere opportunities were afforded them for observing the conditions under which cotton is grown, marketed, and handled for the domestic and oversea trade. There were many surprises in the South for the visitors. Few of them, although they have spent their lives in the cotton industry, had seen cotton in boll before their special train reached th

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region of North Carolina that lies between High Point and Charlotte; and the pleasure of the new experience was almost as great as that of the boy from the interior who has his first glimpse of the ocean. From Charlotte to Atlanta, and especially between Charlotte and Spartanburg, South Carolina, there was another surprise for the visitors. This was found in the many modern and commodious and well-built cotton-mills located along the railway and standing in the midst of the growing cotton. In England cotton manufacturing is an industry of large, populous centers, mostly of the labor camp character; while in the Carolinas and Georgia many of the mills are remote from large centers of population, and form isolated mill villages in the midst of the country. This well-marked tendency of the South's new industry especially impressed the English visitors; as did the use to which the mountain streams are now being put for the generation of electricity as motive power for the mills. Another surprise was that the colored population is not available for the cotton-mills. Gradually the visitors came to have some realization of the color line in the South, and its influence on cotton manufacturing; and one of them—a Manchester spinner—remarked to an Outlook correspondent who was traveling with the party that if the colored people could be employed in the cotton-mills Southern competition would soon have a new and much more serious significance for Lancashire. Perhaps the greatest surprise of all for the visitors was the vastness of the Southern country through which they traveled—most of it available for cotton-growing, but only a small part as yet under cultivation for cotton. Their attention was again and again directed to this fact—particularly by Senator Latimer, at Greenville, and Governor Hoke Smith, at Atlanta, who assured them that it was unnecessary for the English spinners to organize as they have done in the British Cotton-Growing Association in order to develop cotton lands in West Africa; because the South has the ability and will to meet the world's increasing demand for cotton, no matter how great that demand may ultimately become.

The World's Cotton Politics at Atlanta

The Convention at Atlanta was of an essentially practical character; not practical as regards mere technical details of trade, but broadly practical in a manner that appealed to every man who directly or indirectly is connected with the South's greatest industry. The English and European spinners, who buy nearly three-quarters of the total crop of the cotton-growing States, came into the Convention, at which some four hundred representative planters were in attendance, with a definite and well-expressed idea of the reforms they are anxious to see adopted in the handling of cotton. The present methods of baling are bad beyond dispute. They are worse than those practiced in any other cotton-growing country except Mexico. They involve waste of cotton; unnecessary additions to the cost of shipping it oversea; and add to the congestion on Southern railways and Southern ports when the vast cotton crop is in transit from grower to spinner. Even in the days when cotton was at five and six cents a pound, British spinners complained of these antiquated Southern methods. They complain with more vehemence now that cotton is at eleven or twelve cents; and at Atlanta they made a strong appeal for long overdue improvements in the methods of handling. It cannot be said that there was much response to this appeal. All sorts of difficulties in the way of improvement were adduced by the planters; but finally the Convention, on the recommendation of one of its committees, adopted resolutions urging compliance with the spinners' requests. The Southern planters, especially those who are represented by the Farmers' Union, an organization of four years' standing that claims a membership of one and a half million, also came into the Convention with a definite proposal. They are anxious to eliminate the middleman. They assert that the toll he collects now averages five dollars a bale, and they are convinced that he might be eliminated and the five dollars divided between the grower and the spinner. The Farmers' Union has its own cotton warehouses. It has in its service men who are quali-

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fied to grade cotton. It claims that it is financially responsible—as responsible as the agencies through which the spinner now obtains his cotton; and the Union made an appeal to American and European spinners to trade with it direct. The offer was accepted by the accredited representative of a co-operative association of spinners at Bolton, Lancashire, an organization whose ninety five members control six million spindles; and it is likely that a trial will be made at once of the Farmers' Union plan for dislodging the long-established middleman. Representatives of the Cotton Exchanges of Liverpool, New York, New Orleans, and Memphis were at the Convention. Mr. T. Y. Buston, the representative of the Liverpool Exchange, predicted that any attempt to eliminate the middleman must inevitably fail; and he and the representative of the New York Exchange—Mr. S. T. Hubbard, one of its ex-presidents—defended the cotton exchanges from the charge that they are merely gambling institutions, and justified dealings in futures as being necessary to the very existence of the cotton industry. From one of the committees there was a resolution proposed by Congressman Heflin, of Alabama, calling upon the United States Government and the British Government to legislate for the restriction and regulation of trading in futures. It led to a brisk and eager discussion—one of the liveliest discussions of the three days' Convention. In the end there was a compromise, and it was decided to leave action on the resolution to each of the growers' and spinners' organizations constituting the Convention. The Atlanta Convention was the first international gathering in which both growers and manufacturers were fully represented. It is not to be the last, for a representative committee was appointed to give a permanent character to the international organization perfected at the Convention.

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The Anti-Social Policy of Canadian Manufacturers

Twenty-two hundred of the manufacturers of Canada now belong to the Manufacturers' Association, an organization which has existed since 1885, chiefly to press for protection for home industry in the Dominion tariff. In the closing days of September the Association held its annual Convention in Toronto, and decided on its course of action as regards the new tariff and the labor questions. This decision is likely to be of much significance in fiscal and labor politics in the Dominion. During the winter of 1906–7 the tariff was revised solely at the instance of the Manufacturers' Association. Many concessions were then made to the manufacturers. Scores of duties were increased by from two and one-half to seven and one-half per cent to afford increased protection to Canadian manufacturers against British and American competition. These concessions were made in spite of obvious evidence that prosperity had abounded in Canada for four or five years previous to the revision; and in spite of the additional fact that within the last ten years the cost of living in Canada—rent, household supplies, and clothing—has increased by thirty per cent. But the concessions of 1906–7 still fail to meet the demands of the ultra-protectionists who are in control of the Manufacturers' Association; and at the Toronto Convention the Association committed itself to a fresh agitation for another revision of the tariff. In the discussion of this policy one member of the Association demanded a tariff against the United States, if need be, as high as Haman's gallows. Quite as significant as the utterances of the Convention on the tariff were its utterances on labor questions. The Laurier Government was blamed for refusing to instruct its immigration agents in England to recruit skilled labor for members of the Association. The Government's policy is to give direct encouragement only to such immigration as will be available for the farms and for railway construction work. It holds that it is not its duty to bring out skilled laborers to compete with men already in Canada; and for adhering to this policy, in spite of much pressure from the Association, it was condemned on the ground that it had framed its immigration propaganda at the dictation of organized labor. The Association congratulated itself on the

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success of its efforts to prevent the Dominion Parliament from passing an eight-hour-day law that was intended to apply only to Government contracts, and also on the rejection by the Senate at Ottawa of a bill passed by the House of Commons that would have given protection to the union label. The Ontario Government came in for much criticism for appointing factory inspectors on the recommendation of the labor unions. The principal objection of the Manufacturers' Association to this recognition of the unions by the Provincial Government was that men so appointed might act as spies in case of strikes. At the time the Convention was in session, organized labor from Montreal to the Pacific coast was urging the Dominion Government to secure the abrogation of that part of the British-Japanese Treaty which permits the immigration of Japanese laborers into Canada. In the West and on the Pacific coast there is so much popular support for this movement against the treaty that, while the Manufacturers' Association was in session, Mr. R. L. Borden, the leader of the Conservative opposition in the Dominion Parliament, in a speech at Vancouver, committed himself and the Conservative party to abrogation. At the Toronto Convention, however, a resolution was adopted disapproving of abrogation because it might mean the sacrifice of valuable trade concessions which Japan has made to Canada. From several points of view the Convention was the most important in the history of the Manufacturers' Association, as by its action the Dominion is committed to another agitation for increased protection; and the dividing line between capital and labor is made more obvious than at any time since manufacturing began to be developed in Canada in the fifties of the last century.

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A Real Cross-Country Race

Nine balloons sailed away from St. Louis on Monday of last week to compete for the James Gordon Bennett cup. This trophy was first competed for last year at Paris, and was won by Lieutenant Frank P. Lahm, of the United States Army, with the balloon "United States." The cup is offered as a prize for the balloon which covers, without landing, the greatest distance, measured in a straight line between the points of start and finish, regardless of the time occupied by the voyage. Lieutenant Lahm's record was four hundred and ten miles—from Paris to a point near Scarborough, in Yorkshire, on the eastern coast of England. His balloon was in the air about twenty-four hours. In the second competition, held last week, nine balloons, representing four countries, were entered. There were three from America, three from Germany, two from France, and one from England. The first balloon was set loose at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the others at five-minute intervals. They all quickly rose to a height of several hundred feet and were rapidly swept out of sight to the northeast. At intervals during the next day single balloons were seen passing over widely separated points, sometimes high in the air, sometimes low enough for fragmentary conversations, at top voice, between the aeronauts and the people below. The first to land was the English balloon, the "Lotus II." It came down near Sabina, Ohio, at five o'clock Tuesday afternoon, having covered about three hundred and seventy-five miles. The second, the "United States," which had won the first contest, landed an hour later near Hamilton, Ontario, about six hundred and fifty miles from the starting-point. The other seven contestants remained in the air another night, coming to earth the next morning at points in Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. The German balloon, the "Pommern," piloted by Mr. Oscar Erbsloh, with Mr. H. H. Clayton as his aid, covered nearly eight hundred and ninety miles, and landed at Asbury Park, New Jersey. The flight of its nearest competitor, the French "L'Isle de France," was only six miles less, and its landing-place also on the Jersey coast, a short distance to the south. All the contestants but one went far beyond the record established by Lieutenant Lahm a year ago, and the two leading balloons went over twice as far as his did then. In both races, however, the flight of the

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winners was stopped only when they reached the seacoast, although their balloons were in condition to go on for a much greater distance if there had been land beyond to receive them when they came down. Skill in piloting non-dirigible or drifting balloons consists chiefly in judging the altitude at which the most favoring winds will be found, and so maneuvering the balloon, by dropping ballast to send it up, and letting out gas to bring it down, as to take advantage of those winds. Lieutenant Lahm won his race by foreseeing, from barometric indications, that the wind would make a certain change in direction, and keeping his air-craft very low to take advantage of that change. Mr. Erbsloh, of the German balloon, ascribes his victory to an observation that a small pilot-balloon, sent up in advance of the race, was swept away to the east when a high level was reached. When his balloon was let go, he immediately let it shoot up to that high level, and so found the best wind for his purpose. It is, of course, not to the drifting balloon, but to the dirigible air-ship of the lighter-than-air type, or the heavier-than-air aeroplane, that we must look for the successful solution of the problem of aerial navigation. But the experience of the drifting balloon may well furnish valuable knowledge of the upper air and the action of its currents, which may be of great use to the inventors and navigators of the dirigible air-ships. Meanwhile ballooning is a royal sport. It has enough of danger to be blood-stirring, while it is free from the sickening catastrophes which seem to be the inevitable accompaniment of motor-car racing.

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M. Briand and the Church Thieves

Many religious works of art in the great galleries came originally from churches. If one could discover, from the fragmentary annals of the galleries, how the pictures, statues, ivories, tapestries, embroideries, vestments, reliquaries, and crosses were transferred, it would be found that they were either legitimately bought from the church authorities, illegitimately acquired from ignorant or avaricious priests, or deliberately stolen from the churches. Particularly was open loot characteristic of such riotous epochs as that of the French Revolution. Of our own serener day it is characteristic in such infinitesimal degree as not to have been worth attention. Occasionally, it is true, some striking event has turned men's thoughts in that direction, as, for instance, several years ago, when a valuable priest's cope was abstracted from the church at Ascoli, Italy. It had been bought by an American collector, who, shocked to find that he had been made the victim of a theft, instantly restored the cope to the church. During the past few months, however, considerable sensation has been caused in France by the disappearance from various churches of sundry works of art. The presumption was that a gang of thieves had been systematically at work. Wider attention was aroused when an object worth over a hundred thousand dollars disappeared from a church at Ambazac, near Limoges. The thief was finally caught. He declares that after the passage of the Church and State Separation Law, and the taking of church inventories made necessary thereby, certain unscrupulous dealers in antiquities hired him and others to go through the country and bribe the parish priests to surrender art treasures, and substitute counterfeits which could later be turned over to the State. This plan of operations, he says, continued for months, but as many of the most valuable articles could not be counterfeited, he finally went boldly into the business of wholesale burglary. Some of the French papers charge that most of the loot has been disposed of in America. This is not believed by the most trusted authorities, importers and collectors. The duties on works of art are much too high to pay on anything of doubtful antecedents, while of course no collector or dealer cares to run the risk of discovery in smuggling, even if otherwise he might wink at the practice. Henceforth, however, ecclesiastical treasures will be more carefully guarded in French churches if the bill passes which M. Briand, Minister of Public Instruction, has just drafted. He considers it a corollary to the Separation Law, one

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consequence of which was the ownership by the State of much property formerly belonging to the Church. The bill declares all objects of religious art in churches and other ecclesiastical edifices to be the State's property and under national protection. It would provide that such works may not be given away, sold, exchanged, or removed without Parliament's consent. M. Briand has now sensibly modified his bill so as to intrust the custody of church art treasures to the curate in purely Roman Catholic communities, to the beadle in mixed communities, and to a layman in freethinking communities.

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Why the Chinaman Shuns Christianity

The Chinese have four objections to Christianity. First, it is a foreign religion. Despite their present effort to adopt a number of European and American manners and customs, the great body of the Chinese are opposed to much change. Next, Christian missionaries do not encourage, say the Chinese, reverence for ancestors as they should. Most Protestant missionaries do not observe All Saints' Day, as do Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal churches, when the graves are visited in solemn ceremony; nor does any missionary perhaps take at its highest value the assurance of the best of the Chinese that kowtowing, or bowing down to their ancestors, has no significance of idolatry, that bowing down to a parent's tablet is not a worship of his spirit, but merely a salutation of his memory—the same salutation that would have been used if the father had been alive. A third objection is the interference by missionaries in the lawsuits of their converts. Thus, sometimes, the Chinese join the churches for unworthy motives. Finally, there are the unhappy denominational divisions among Protestant bodies to confuse and prejudice the Chinese. But—and this is a big "But"—nowhere is a friendlier spirit shown among Christians of different views than in China. There is, says the Rev. Lord William Cecil, a son of the late Marquis of Salisbury, in a recent letter to the London Times, among Protestants in China every desire for co-operation, if not union. But this harmonious feeling is not even to be limited to Protestants. In the debates at the recent centenary Protestant meeting at Shanghai one speaker advocated a certain course on the ground that later it might render a junction between Roman Catholics and Protestants possible. This suggestion, instead of raising the No-Popery feeling, was received with marked approval. Certainly, if the conquest of China for the Chinese demands more solidarity in the national political movement, so the conquest of China for Christianity also demands substantial solidarity in the international religious movement.

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Church and State in Geneva

The Canton of Geneva, the cradle of Calvinistic Protestantism in Switzerland, has just been passing through a religio-political crisis. The question of the separation of Church and State has been decided by a referendum. The problems involved have been different from those presented in the struggle for separation in France. In the first place, Switzerland, with over 3,300,000 inhabitants, is a confederation of twenty-two cantons. Each canton has its own distinct Church establishment, under which both Protestants and Roman Catholics receive grants from the cantonal treasury. In the Roman Catholic cantons the larger share of the money goes to the support of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Protestant cantons the proportions are reversed. Strictly speaking, there is no national Church, there are only cantonal churches. It is somewhat as if the different States of the American Union should support different church establishments. To an American, separation does not seem a calamity either for religion or for the State, nor does it seem so to many Genevans, for the Roman Catholics and various Protestant sects have long maintained independent churches without State aid. Thus, in the second place, the financial question, which played such a conspicuous part in the French discussions, has assumed no significance in Geneva. In the third place, the old Protestant church establishment, in

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which religion and the State have been closely identified for centuries, has been a peculiarly striking symbol of patriotism as well as of religious devotion, and strongly appeals to civic pride. Finally, the Genevan Roman Catholics favored separation despite the fact that in the French conflict the Pope condemned separation as a mischievous heresy. Years ago, when the Old Catholic party separated from the Roman Catholic Church on account of the dogma of infallibility, the Old Catholic party was recognized by the State as the National Catholic Church, and the Cathedral of Notre Dame was given to it. The Roman Catholics, like the free Protestants, received no recognition or support, though their worship was tolerated. To many Protestants also this exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church, now numerically larger in the canton of Geneva than that of the Old Catholics, has long been regarded as unjust, and as constituting a reason for putting all churches on an equal basis.

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Separation Voted

Americans would think it strange to have the polls open on Sunday for the decision of political questions, even if religious considerations were largely involved. But in Switzerland it is the regular custom to open the polls Saturday evening and to keep them open several hours on the following day. To many Protestants a particular recent Sunday in Geneva was more solemn than if no election had been held. For to them it was a vote of their consciences against their feelings. Separation, they felt, was right and just in principle, but it dislodged a long-cherished association. The Protestant clergy was divided. The Independent parishes and pastors naturally stood for separation. But thirty-four parishes in the Canton of Geneva are included in the established church. Seventeen pastors had signed and published a courageous declaration in favor of separation. They declared that the separation of Church and State was a Protestant principle, conforming to the ideals both of democracy and of the Christian Church, that the Church has nothing to fear from the breaking of the bond which binds it to the State, that the proud history of the Genevan Church was due more to obedience to the fathers than to the State's financial aid. They also declared that separation would permit the Church to increase its activity and to make greater progress, while still remaining national, Christian, and ambitious for the moral welfare of the nation. From the American standpoint these statements were certainly logical. On the other hand, the Consistory and its mouthpiece, the Journal de Genève, the ablest paper in Geneva, issued an appeal against separation. Its arguments were that—

> For centuries the Church has been a constituent element of national existence, in which the religious and the civil life have been so intimately connected that it is now impossible to separate them. The present organization of the Church is democratic and in conformity to our institutions and to mod ern ideas. The National [read "Cantonal"] Church, because it is the National Church, is open to all, and even those who are momentarily estranged from it can come when they wish and confide to it the instruction of their children and appeal to its pastors as they could not do in a Church of which they are not actually members and whose expenses are paid by private individuals. . . . We fear that if the Church is separated it will break up into different tendencies, as has been the case in France in spite of the efforts to maintain one Protestant Church.

Thus, when the day of voting came, there was a Radical-Socialistic-Roman Catholic coalition on one side, with the Liberal Conservatives and the Old Catholics on the other. Between the two was a floating vote of non-partisan Protestants. Separation won. But as the Separatists were recruited from all parties, the vote cannot, we think, be interpreted as an anti-religious or even an anti-Protestant demonstration.

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General Booth's Immigration Work

General Booth, of the Salvation Army, some years ago startled the world by his seemingly sensational but truthful details of the lives of the submerged classes in "Darkest England." Since that time he has directed no small part of his great zeal and energy to bettering the conditions of that part of humanity, especially in

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English cities, who have fallen by the wayside in the struggle of life and merely manage to eke out the miserable remnants of existence, without heart or hope. In this work he has, consciously or unconsciously, followed to a great extent the processes of modern production in turning to use as by-products what formerly was cast aside as worthless. This remedy for the "submerged tenth" has been a natural one—the removal, wherever possible, of these hopeless human wrecks from the great cities which produced them to the land, giving them a new chance in life by this process of transplantation. In this way thousands have, by Salvation Army agencies, been given a new start in "colonies" in the United States, but the greater and perhaps most satisfactory part of General Booth's work has been in equalizing supply and demand for population in English colonies and especially in the Dominion of Canada. General Booth is now on his fifth visit to America in furtherance of what may be called his rescue mission. So far, according to a statement he made the other day at St. John, he has sent forty thousand people to Canada within the last three or four years, and he says he will send out twenty thousand more during the coming year, having already chartered ten steamers for the voyage. For fifteen years, he says, he has been pleading with the Dominion and most of the Colonial Governments to the effect that they were mistaken in asking for "the young man with $500 in his pocket." He claims that this is not the class of people that Canada needs, but rather those who would come with no higher ambition than that of settling, and who would be satisfied with sufficient to meet the wants of their families. It is upon the children of this class of immigrants that General Booth places reliance. The fact that during the past year 91,000 immigrants left the British Isles to seek homes in Canada shows that General Booth's propaganda is producing results.

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The Assimilation of the Indian

It is not the habit of the Mohonk Indian Conference to indulge much in historic or self-flattering reminiscence. It has always been more interested in making history than in leisurely reviewing it. It was characteristic, therefore, of its spirit and method that but a single hour of its twenty-fifth annual Conference was given to a rapid sketch of its work during a quarter of a century. Yet during that period no factor in molding public sentiment with reference to the welfare and development of the Indian has been more influential than this Conference. Its unique influence is largely due to the personality of its founder, Mr. Albert K. Smiley. His warm hospitality, to which his wife has given an additional charm, has brought together from year to year, first in the Indian and then in the Arbitration Conferences, a body of earnest, thoughtful, active men and women, preachers, editors, lawyers, legislators, missionaries from the field, and Government officials charged with interpreting and administering its policy. This body of men and women from all parts of the country has included in its membership more people who knew the actual condition of the Indian and how to relieve it than could be got together anywhere else in one place. The Conference has thus been sure of its facts. It has served as a clearing-house for the exchange of opinion, and has succeeded in uniting and expressing the conviction of the great majority of its members. On reaching its twenty-fifth session it has found that the Indian has ceased to be a problem. His political status, which at first gave great trouble, has been well defined. He has not been extirpated, but is in the process of peaceful assimilation with our laws and institutions, and is gradually readjusting his life to the conditions of modern civilization. The "gospel of work" for the Indian which the Indian Bureau is now putting into effective practice, and the great success of that Bureau in repressing the illicit liquor traffic, are necessary measures to stimulate the Indian, on the one hand, and to protect him, on the other. It is gratifying that the Mohonk Conference can now commend the general Indian policy of the Government, and those who are charged with administering it; but it also shows the responsibility which rests upon the missionary activities of this country to do a work

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which is outside of the field of government.

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Our Insular Dependencies

While the Indian was not neglected, the whole emphasis of the Twenty-fifth Mohonk Conference was placed upon our duties towards our other dependent peoples. Hawaii and Porto Rico required but little attention; the most difficult problems center in the Philippines. Together with prominent representatives of the Insular Bureau were several speakers who have enjoyed unusual opportunities for observation and the collection of facts in the islands. Two aspects of the problem were brought into relief. First, the encouraging results obtained in the last eight years. The currency has been established upon a stable basis, a general educational system organized, telegraphic communication effected, and important railway enterprises undertaken. Postal savings banks have been created and an agricultural bank authorized by Congress. Land titles are now guaranteed by law, giving a new stability to business enterprises. Local self-government has been firmly established in every civilized community, and the Philippine National Assembly has lately been elected and organized. Second, the present situation and needs of the islands were clearly set forth. One of the greatest burdens has been created by the existing tariff. While all commodities coming to the United States from Porto Rico and Hawaii are admitted free of duty, and those from Cuba at twenty per cent of the existing tariff, a tax of seventy-five per cent of this tariff continues to be imposed upon two of the principal products of the island. The Conference urged Congress radically to reduce the duties on products of the islands, to suspend permanently the application of the Coastwise Shipping Act, to legislate so as to enable a large number of persons in those islands to be naturalized as citizens of the islands, and to protect by legislation the inhabitants against the evils of the opium habit. The Conference further urged the extension of primary and industrial education and education in the duties of citizenship, and that "so fast as the Filipinos demonstrate their political capacity, powers of self-government should be granted and enlarged."

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Can Bankers Be Trusted?

For several days last week the city of New York, and therefore the entire country of which New York is the financial center, suffered from the terrors and anxieties of a threatening financial panic. Bank depositors whose daily bread depended on the security of their cash savings were in terror lest their property was to be swept away; government and bank officials and great financiers spent sleepless nights in their anxiety to prevent the panic from spreading throughout the country, bringing with it general disaster. By the prompt and public-spirited action of Mr. Cortelyou, the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the most respected and most influential bankers of the city, this danger has now been averted and public confidence is being restored. There is every ground, in our judgment, for this restoration of confidence. There have been no serious or significant commercial failures; business, using that word in its broadest sense, is good; customers are promptly paying their bills to merchants, and merchants are filling their contracts with manufacturers; the crops are unusually abundant; exports and imports are unimpaired; and the production and exchange of commodities, the two activities which constitute the foundation of all industry, commerce, and banking, are being carried on with undiminished prosperity.

What, then, caused this sudden panic? The people began to suspect the banks. And it was not merely the untrained man of the street, to whom the laws of finance are as mysterious as the laws of astronomy, who hurried to draw out his little hard-earned surplus; men of wealth and trustees of estates and public funds were eager to cash their balances or transfer them from one institution to another. It was not a blind stampede of sheep afraid of a shadow at twilight. It was genuine

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and reasoning alarm. What was its source?

Its primary source was the revelation, first made through the New York Clearing-House, which has always successfully maintained the highest standards of banking in New York City, that certain bankers and so-called "high financiers" were using the resources of banks and trust companies of which they had gotten control to promote their own personal enterprises, many of these enterprises being of very questionable value. When the Knickerbocker Trust Company, an institution nearly twenty-five years old, with a capital and surplus of over six millions of dollars, with deposits of over sixty millions, paying dividends at the rate of forty per cent per annum, with its stock of 100 par value selling at 1,200, with a banking house which is one of the most costly and beautiful commercial buildings in the country—when this apparently unshakable institution suspended payment and its president was forced to resign, presumably because of either unwise or inefficient or unfair management, it is no wonder that public confidence was disturbed. The acute trouble is now over. But when a great danger has been averted the wise man endeavors to consider how he may prevent its return. In our judgment, banking panics cannot be prevented unless the following principles are observed:

First. All business rests on credit—that is, confidence in the common honesty of the average man.

Second. When this confidence is destroyed, business is arrested and financial panics and failures inevitably follow.

Third. Confidence is not destroyed by public exposure and condemnation of dishonesty and breaches of trust, or by attempts to prevent or punish financial malpractice through the law; it is destroyed by the malpractice itself.

Fourth. Banks of deposit are not private concerns to be administered for private profit; they are public service corporations, and their officers and directors are trustees for the depositors.

Fifth. It is natural, just, and wholesome that the public should lose its confidence and express distrust by withdrawal of deposits when bank officers fail to maintain the highest standards of trusteeship in the use and investment of deposits.

Sixth. By education, by public sentiment, and by the influence and support of his colleagues, the bank director should be made to feel that he fills, not a private office, but a position of public trust. Rigorous enforcement of efficient laws should compel those bankers who do not voluntarily observe this principle of trusteeship to practice it or be punished for breach of trust.

The great body of American bankers are men of the highest honor. They can be trusted. They ought to be protected against the misdeeds and dishonorable standards of a few unscrupulous bankers who regard a bank surplus as merely their own personal balance to be drawn upon at will. And the country should recognize the obligation it owes to those who have stepped in courageously to repair the mischief which their unscrupulous contemporaries have caused.

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Autobiographical

In "A Prophet of Babylon" the Rev. W. J. Dawson may be presumed to give his own idea of the liberty of the modern pulpit in the following dialogue between two ministers:

"You assume I'm at war with my church," interrupted Gaunt. "That's not the case. My church has always given me the fullest liberty of speech, and I have no reason to suppose they wish to restrict that liberty."

"Fiddle-de-dee!" said Jordan. "Really, Gaunt, you amaze me. Don't you know that this boasted liberty of speech means nothing more than liberty to say things your people like you to say? Begin to say the things they don't want you to say, and you'll soon discover how little your liberty is worth."

Observation and experience combine to convince me that there is no public platform in America quite as free as the American pulpit. Doubtless the preacher who wishes to influence his congregation must take account of their previous opinions; so the lecturer must study his audiences, the political orator his constituents, the editor his readers, the teacher his pupils, and the novelist the general public. But of them all no one is less subject to the trammels of popular

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prejudice than the preacher, provided he has the courage of his convictions. The pulpit is supported by men who admire courage and desire of the preacher original convictions, not an echo of their own opinions. The current criticism of preachers among the laity is not that they are too original but too imitative, not that they are too bold but too timid.

There are, it is true, two principles which the preacher must observe if he desires untrammeled liberty of utterance in the pulpit: he must build up, not tear down; and he must treat with respect convictions from which he dissents. The people are justly impatient of preaching which is a criticism of the faiths of others, and they justly resent the preacher who demands respect for his own sacred convictions and refuses respect to the equally sacred convictions of others. But he who is governed by these principles will rarely find occasion to complain that the church restricts his liberty.

The three most popular preachers in the last half-century in America were Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, and Dwight L. Moody. Wholly unlike in their methods, they were alike in the absolute sincerity of their convictions and the absolute courage with which they proclaimed them. I doubt whether their bitterest enemies ever accused any of them of saying the things they thought their people wanted them to say. I do not wish to be invidious by mentioning the names of living preachers, but the reader may run over in his own mind the names of those who, within his own observation, are listened to with respect, and may judge for himself whether they are the mere echoes of their audiences. Was this the secret of the popularity of John Wesley? Is it the secret of the popularity of the Bishop of London? It may be said that the men I mention are all men of power and of fame. The answer is that their courage preceded their fame and gave to them their power. In hope that my own experience when I certainly had neither fame nor power may serve to encourage young men in the ministry, I venture to tell it here.

In the spring before Abraham Lincoln's first election I went to Terre Haute, Indiana, to take my first parochial charge. I had inherited from my father radical anti-slavery convictions. They were strengthened and intensified by three years' attendance on the preaching of Henry Ward Beecher. Before I was old enough to vote I had taken an active part in the Fremont campaign. I should have been dubbed, in the language of the day, an abolitionist, though I was one of the type of Lincoln, Chase, Seward, and Beecher, not of the type of Garrison and Phillips. The church to which I went in Terre Haute had been ministered to for a quarter of a century by a preacher who came from Baltimore and who brought with him the Southern belief that the preacher should have nothing to say about politics; and the church shared his belief. I came almost directly from Plymouth Church, and brought with me the belief that it is the duty of the preacher to rebuke wickedness and promote virtue in public life no less than in private life, and I proceeded to act at once on my conviction. As the result of my preaching, the church was straightway dubbed upon the street the "abolition church," with an expletive preceding which was more forcible than sacred. There was, so far as I knew then or have reason to think now, only one man of any importance in the church who shared my radical anti-slavery convictions or was glad that I gave utterance to them. There was no more anti-slavery feeling without the church than within it. At a fast day proclaimed by the President about the middle of the war, every sin in the calendar was mentioned by the public speakers at our union meeting—profanity, intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, covetousness, luxury, disobedience to parents, etc., etc.—everything except slavery; I believe I was the only speaker who even referred to slavery. Of course there were some indignant protests against my course; some kindly advice proffered me against it, to which I listened with respect; some withdrawals from the congregation. But there was never any attempt by the church or any of the officers to put the slightest restraint on my liberty of utterance or the slightest limitation upon my choice of

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themes or my treatment of them. In short, in this conservative church in this conservative town the dominant feeling was evidently that the minister should be free to speak his own mind as a public teacher. If I had used that liberty to malign the motives or ridicule the convictions of other men as intelligent and honest as myself, the result might have been different.

I came East, retired from the active pastorate, and after a few years of other work devoted myself to literature. For seventeen years I coupled with my literary work the supply of the pulpit of a Presbyterian church in a village of Orange County. The old pastor and his wife were still living, and we became very warm friends. The New Theology and the New Criticism were born during this period. I became, by gradual process, a believer in both. Both became subjects of my public teaching, by pen and on the lecture platform. Both underlay my preaching on Sunday. I do not know how far my congregation agreed with me; probably a considerable proportion of them cared very little for either theology or criticism, and some of them, as I have reason to know, were glad of the teaching. But the Presbytery with which the church was connected could hardly have given it sanction, for during a part of the time the Presbyterian Church was in tumult over the controversy about Professor Briggs and his teaching. It could hardly have been ignorant of my views, for they were frankly and freely declared through the public press. Not all my congregation approved them, for the old pastor and his wife occasionally remonstrated with me, always in a kindly spirit, because of some departure from the ancient faith. But no attempt was ever made by them, or by any member of the congregation, or by any member of the Presbytery, to put any limit upon my liberty. Perhaps if I had attacked the traditional faith, instead of frankly stating my own, I might have been attacked in turn. But my father told me, when a boy, that it takes two to make a quarrel; and I had read in an ancient book the very wise advice, "Overcome evil with good," and a certain parable which counseled preachers to sow the good seed and leave the tares alone.

From my quiet country life I was called to Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Its pulpit had long been a National platform, its preacher a National figure, his utterances widely reported through the press. To a minister who had no pretensions to oratory, and whose work for the previous seventeen years had been largely with his pen, this was perhaps a disadvantage; it certainly would have been to him a great disadvantage but for the consideration of the church, which never asked of him the impossible. On the other hand, forty years of life under one pastor had gathered about Mr. Beecher men to whom love of liberty was a supreme enthusiasm, and who admired courage and would have despised cowardice in their preacher. And this was to the new preacher an inestimable advantage. The congregation was accustomed to the New Theology and the New Criticism, and in that department of thought I probably said the things they would like me to say. But Mr. Beecher was in sociology an individualist of the old school, as practically were all the radical anti-slavery men. The congregation he had gathered about him was one of individualists. I had been trained in the same school, but had come to believe that the world had outgrown individualism, and, though very far from a socialist, held convictions which are often misinterpreted as socialistic. These convictions from the beginning determined my preaching on social conditions, and were after a few years formulated in a series of Sunday evening sermons on "Christianity and Social Problems," subsequently made the basis of a volume bearing that title. Whether the majority of the church approved or disapproved these teachings I have no means of knowing; but that some of the most prominent men in the church disapproved them I have very good reason to believe. One of them, who was and is a very dear friend, said to me while I was giving this course that he remained away because my false teaching irritated him when he came; and I told him, with equally friendly frankness, that I thought he was very wise to do so, since it is never wise to

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go to church to be irritated. Of course my teaching was criticised in the church and out of it. Why not? Why should the minister expect to be exempt from the criticism to which all other teachers are subject? But no officer and no member in the church ever attempted, directly or indirectly, to interfere with or put any limits upon my liberty. If I had cast scorn on individualism as an effete philosophy, or maligned the motives of the men who were as sincere in their belief in it as I was in my unbelief, doubtless I could have had a hot church battle on my hands. Generally one can have a fight for the asking, and quite as quickly in the church as out of it.

I repeat, then, as the result of both observation and experience in a variety of fields and through twoscore of years, that the American pulpit is the freest of platforms, and that the preacher, with rare exceptions, will find himself free to proclaim the truth as he sees it, provided he neither dreads the criticism nor maligns the character of those who differ from him. L. A.

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A Great Advance

A misleading telegraphic report led The Outlook, in its account of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Richmond, to report the postponement of an amendment of a canon by the terms of which any Christian person approved by the bishop of the diocese may be invited to speak or preach in any Episcopal church. As a matter of fact, the original amendment, with a slight modification, was adopted by a large majority in both houses of the Convention; and the canon which prohibits any one not licensed or ordained from ministering in the Church has now been modified so as to make it possible, by the joint action of a rector and the bishop of a diocese, to invite a Christian man from any religious communion to speak or preach in an Episcopal pulpit. Carefully guarded as this provision is, it is a long step in advance, and it will do much to remove a stumbling-block in the way of the growth of the Church and its cordial relations with Christians of other communions. The exclusion of Christian preachers and teachers outside the Episcopal Church from its pulpits by a formal law has done much to alienate popular sympathy from that Church. Every church has a right to regulate its own affairs, to determine the qualifications of its ministers and to control its worship; and non-Episcopalians have found no ground of offense in the action of the Church in restricting the conduct of its services and the administration of its sacraments to ministers ordained under its own law; but they have felt, and rightly, that it was a mistake in Christian comity and Christian fellowship to confuse the office of prophet with that of priest, and to exclude from the pulpit of the Church men of religious genius and leadership, and laymen of gifts and power from the teaching function.

This first step toward an open pulpit, as it has been called, is a step away from the isolation in which the Episcopal Church has been separated from the Roman Catholic communion on one side, and from all the Protestant churches on the other side. That separation has made a natural co-operation and normal working together in communities between all churches of Christ almost impossible, and it has often misrepresented the spirit and zeal of generous-hearted and open-minded Episcopal congregations. If the Church rests, as many of its most ardent members believe, on an indestructible and divinely constituted order of organization, direction, and worship, surely nothing is to be feared and many things are to be gained from the extension of a broader Christian hospitality. Logically, the more pronounced the churchmanship of an Episcopal congregation, the more ready ought it to be to open its pulpits, under proper regulation, to Christians of every name and affiliation who have either truth, experience, or a prophetic vision to impart.

The note of the Richmond meeting from beginning to end was deeply religious and only incidentally ecclesiastical, in the narrow sense of that word. Not in the history of living men has a convention manifested such fervor of interest in religious work, or have men of widely divergent opinions met with such evident

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enjoyment of Christian fellowship. The inevitable and natural exchange of views, rendered easy by cordial association, played a great part in settling questions which might have caused bitter dissension, and in imbuing the great assemblage with a spirit of unity, charity, and brotherly love. The consciousness of great blessings and equally great responsibilities, freshened and deepened by the commemorative exercises at Jamestown, reinforced by the evangelical earnestness and apostolic directness and passion of the Bishop of London, aided greatly in making the meetings at Richmond profoundly religious and in deepening the missionary feeling throughout the entire Church. The distinction between the Church at home and the Church abroad, the Church dealing with its parish problems and the Church preaching the Gospel in foreign lands, was almost obliterated. The misleading conception, so long held by Christians of all names, that missions are a form of Christian activity rather than its chief function, practically disappeared. There were many indications that this powerful communion, which has an influence in the country out of all proportion to its numbers, has not only conceived a broader idea of its relationship to other churches and its mission as a preacher of church unity, but that it is being reinspired by a new devotion to its Master and a new zeal in preaching his Gospel.

The wisdom of the Convention was conspicuous, not only in what it accomplished, but in what it left undone. It did not create a court of final appeal, which might have checked its growth, narrowed its sympathies, and relegated it to the status of one of those sects which rest, not on a living organization of witnesses to the life and death of Jesus Christ, but on a special interpretation of doctrine, a particular philosophy of the facts. It did not draw the race line, but solved the problem of its relation to colored congregations by providing for suffragan bishops who may be either white or black, according to circumstances. It did not take action on the question of the remarriage of divorced persons; it did not provide for a provincial system, and there is as yet no danger of that "march of archbishops" to which allusion was made at a former Convention. Its progressive spirit and its positive action were expressed in the opening of its pulpits under careful restriction; the settlement of the race question, for the present, along rational and Christian lines; the initial steps toward a change in the appointment of the presiding bishop from the basis of seniority to one of qualification—that is to say, from automatic succession to election; the creation of a commission to study and report on questions involving the relations of capital and labor, and the adoption by the bishops of a resolution that it is "the duty of all Christian citizens to insist on the injustice allowed hitherto, and now by our Federal Government, of refusing ordinary trade rights to the Filipinos which all other peoples under the American flag enjoy, to be removed without further delay." This motion was lost in the House of Deputies because of the feeling that it might be regarded as an interference with politics; but it undoubtedly expressed the conviction of a great majority of the members of the Convention. The General Convention at Richmond was significant of that progress in true catholicity among Christians which means closer fellowship, greater emphasis on the life of the spirit, deeper devotion to and more passionate sympathy with the humanity for which Christ died.

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The Real Story

When "Bob, Son of Battle," appeared, it not only made a deep impression by reason of a certain vitality which pervaded it, a certain vigor of characterization, and a wonderful study of two dogs, but it started a stream of books in which dogs have taken the leading parts. Readers who take up Mr. Ollivant's latest little book, "Redcoat Captain" (Macmillan), will find themselves in an entirely different region. Some will persevere and reach "That Country;" others will fall by the way, and declare that the little book is a piece of sheer nonsense, without head, body, or feet;

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the sort of thing that Carlyle might have written, before he concerned himself with the universe, if he had attempted to turn the mind of an imaginative boy inside out. People who like "Peter Pan" will like Mr. Ollivant's story, and people who thought Mr. Barrie's play was a bit of nursery rubbish will throw Mr. Ollivant's story into the waste-basket. Those who bring the heart and mind of a boy will discover that it is a striking piece of work, and also that it is a very beautiful parable. There is a bit of interpretation at the end full of practical wisdom, the significance of which those who are wise enough to be humble in spirit and willing to learn as little children will not miss. In this concluding chapter, which throws a clear light back on the course of the story, the writer says that the real story of life is the story of the Beyond, and that what most of us read is only foot-notes at the bottom of the page to explain the Real Story:

Because our eyes are so close to the page, and because the page is so very large, we often only see the foot-notes, which are most interesting in themselves. Then sometimes we deny that the page is there, saying the foot-notes are all, which is rather foolish; for what is the good of Notes on Nothing?

The man who buries his nose in the Notes and tries to read the writing by smelling it is a sinner, and usually knows a lot about nothing; the man who holds his eyes close to the page and pries into the Notes is a scientist, and knows a great deal about the Notes and very little about the Story; the man who stands back a bit and declares he can read the whole thing, Notes and all, is a philosopher, and usually knows a little about both the Notes and the Story; and "the man who stands still farther back and looks at the Story very quietly, and tells truly all he sees without trying to explain it, is a poet, and he usually knows a lot about both Notes and Story:"

And this Beyond that is always There, is always the same, and is always a Love-story.

And we are characters in this Love-story and walk forever through its pages.

But if we walk apart by ourselves, rather proud and puffed up, saying that it isn't a real Story, and that we don't belong to it, and will take no part, then we lose all the interest, for that comes from joining in and feeling that we are characters in the Story, and must help it along by helping the other characters. While, if we enter in, then we very soon find out that it is the best Story in the world, and that if we will we can be little heroes, and play our part, and win in the end quite splendidly. *Then* it becomes exciting.

This is a very simple putting of the problem of life, but it is an eminently wise one, full of comforting suggestions for those especially whose hands are fast bound to difficult tasks, and who stand so close to the foot-notes, by reason of the pressure of work, that they are unable to see the Real Story in perspective. There are countless men and women who are so exhausted and bewildered by the foot-notes that they rarely see the Story; so caught up and bound in by details from which they cannot escape that they rarely catch sight of the great plan. Their eyes and their thoughts are so fixed upon the threads which they are weaving that barely once in a lifetime do they get a glimpse of the design. And yet all the while the design is there; and it often happens that those who are hard-pressed, and have the sense of being nothing better than drudges, are revealed to their friends who stand by and see their work in perspective as having a certain heroic element of devotion and contributing a certain heroic quality to the work of life. The very fact that there are so many foot-notes proves the greatness of the Story.

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The Spectator

It has long been a favorite theory with the Spectator that in nothing does the character of a community show more plainly than in its play-days. The times of relaxation are a good index to the real aspirations and ambitions of the people, as they are of the individual. Opportunity to visit a Middle West county fair was welcomed as offering an insight into the modern farmer's relation to the larger affairs of life. The county fair is always a farmers' gathering. The Spectator remembered it back East as a place for the congregation of clumsy lumber-wagons and displays of huge pumpkins. So there were farmers at this county fair out in the plains country; but where

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were the rattling wagons and the clumsy-footed horses? Hundreds of teams drove up the dusty road to the gate of the fair grounds, but they were hitched to smart surreys, double carriages, or citified buggies. Over on the farther side of the grand stand where the hitching-places had been provided were actually acres of farmers' rigs, and not a half-dozen wagons among them. At the livery stables in town were hundreds of other rigs, and these too were buggies, surreys, and rubber-tired carriages. The farmer of to-day gives his family some real comforts in the way of transportation.

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Nor was this all. Here and there came an automobile, and the disregard of the machine shown by the farm horses gave evidence that this modern luxury has become common throughout the land. "Yes, a good many farmers have motor-cars," explained the gatekeeper. "Most of them are runabouts, but there are probably a dozen touring-cars in the county outside the towns. The finest car around here is owned by a young farmer twelve miles from town. There he comes now," and he pointed to a handsome forty-horse-power machine that had just made the run over the prairie roads, its bronzed-cheeked owner at the wheel. With smooth highways nine months in the year, no stones, and few hills, it is little wonder that motoring proves fascinating. The farmers' wives and daughters were well dressed, cheery, and seemed to be enjoying life. Altogether it was a very satisfactory and typical American crowd that filed into the grounds.

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The exhibits of grain, live stock, and domestic productions were no doubt much the same as of old, but what most interested the Spectator was the class of amusements offered. Of course the perennial and perpetual merry-go-round was there, though it had a different name and some new-fangled appliances in its mechanical organ and jumping horses. The same old hot-air balloon that is scheduled to go up at four o'clock and does not do so until six-thirty was present. But along with these was a new sort of amusement feature, a product of modern invention. In a black tent was a moving picture show—how our fathers and mothers in their youth would have marveled at this wonderful production! In front of the grand stand as a free attraction were vaudeville artists performing on a trapeze. A scantily dressed lady made a "high dive" into a shallow pool of water. A children's flower parade attracted more attention than did all the other features of the day. Some illusion shows, minstrels, and similar entertainments lined the "war-path"—the name that has everywhere succeeded "pike," as that did "midway." But nowhere on the grounds was "Bosco" who "eats 'em alive;" nowhere was the gaudy group of dancing girls—it was throughout a clean, wholesome, decent sort of entertainment that commended itself as worthy of a sturdy, well-to-do, farmer-like community.

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"It is the kind of amusement that pays best," explained the manager of the fair, philosophically. "We probably are not too good to have the other kind if it would attract bigger crowds—but it don't. The county fairs tried that after the Chicago Exposition. All over the West they had reproductions of the Midway, with all the Streets of Cairo novelties then introduced. It was looked on as a drawing card, and there was rivalry as to which could go the farthest and not invite a visit from the police. In the end it killed many a county fair. The decent folks would not go—and after a while the managers woke up to the fact that there are more decent folks in any community than the other kind. More than that, they are the ones who have the money and the influence. So the county fairs and the street carnivals and other things of the sort began looking for clean shows fit for every farmer's wife and daughter to attend—I say farmer's wife and daughter, because it is that class that makes the fair a success. The town folks can't do it alone. When we did that, the fairs began to be popular again, and now hundreds of Western counties are having them when six or eight years ago they locked up the grounds in discouragement. People come to a fair to

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be amused, and they care very little for speeches and instruction unless they are greatly out of the ordinary. For instance, last year we brought a milking-machine run by a gasoline engine and milked cows on the grounds. It took eight policemen to keep back the crowds. That was something that both amused and instructed, and every farmer and his family longed for a similar equipment."

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We used to hear a great deal about the sad and lonely fate of the Western farmer's wife, but there was little evidence of loneliness in the appearance of these women who surrounded the quilts and fancy-work in the Domestic Arts building. They seemed as much at home in discussing modern adornments of the home as the women from town, and there were evidences of a social life far beyond the limits of the municipalities. One whole section was devoted to the work of a club of women living ten miles from the county-seat town, and on farms. They met every fortnight and kept abreast of the times. When the Spectator came across some old friends and was invited to a picnic dinner on the grass near the race-track, it was found that modern cookery is not less expert than that of earlier days. The array of eatables was fully as abundant and as appetizing as ever graced the old New York State dining-table; and if the laughing company did not do it full justice, it was solely because of lack of time. Who could linger long at a lunch of this sort with two bands, a phonograph, and a steam-animated piano all playing within a dozen rods?

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At this fair one hundred dollars in several prizes was offered to the boys who raised the best samples of corn. That was not remarkable. Another thing was unusual: one hundred dollars in a number of prizes was offered to the girls who brought in the finest flowers. It seemed to the Spectator that this marked a distinct advance in the Middle West's viewpoint. In all its previous existence it has been lauding the corn, wheat, alfalfa, herds, and flocks. To give deliberate reward to flower-raising means that the ethical influence of beauty is making itself felt even in the most utilitarian of commonwealths. To place flower-raising on a level with corn-raising, to give the same reward for one as for the other, means a healthy appreciation of the advantage that grows out of encouraging adornment in the home. The effect of several score competitors for the prizes, with their carefully tended flower gardens scattered over the county, pleasing all who saw them through the long summer, could but be beneficial to the æsthetic development of that section. Now that the fruits were gathered, it was a personal satisfaction to note that more admirers surrounded the gay bouquets than were gathered before the neatly arranged rows of corn.

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Anything that brings people together in friendly intercourse is good for a community. The older one grows, the more one appreciates the beneficial effect of a broad community life. The county fair is a civilizer in this, that it brings realization of the good things possessed by others, and leads away from introspection and toward the larger affairs of life. The tendency of the modern exposition is less to encourage fierce rivalry than to get the people together for a harvest home visit. This was the sentiment of the fair ground throng. Those who had lived in the county when fairs were devoted chiefly to horse-racing and a few doubtful entertainments rejoiced at the change, and praised the new condition of things. They said that it had taken years to build up the fair sentiment on the right basis, that it had been expensive at times and often seemed likely to fail entirely. In the end, perseverance won, and the result was helpful in both a business and a social sense. Other counties adjoining had been less successful, but were trying to conduct annual shows on a similar plan—which simply goes to prove that the county fair, homely and apparently simple as it is, depends for its success, like other public gatherings, on the intelligence and the grasp of correct principles possessed by its managers.

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FRANCIS JOSEPH: THE MAN

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN

Author of "The Mastery of the Pacific," "Greater America," etc., etc.

DESPITE the progress of democratic ideas, there is still a kind of "divinity doth hedge a king" in the minds of most ordinary men. To be born in the purple, with such high and often tragic destinies, does set a man apart from his fellow-beings, and although he may be in no respect extraordinary either in character or intellect, he becomes interesting by reason of his power and the circumstances of his position. In the case of the Emperor Francis Joseph, however, this natural interest in one who influences the fortunes of a great country is heightened by many extraneous circumstances. In the first place, he is the oldest monarch in the world, and belongs to the oldest reigning house in Europe. Beside the Habsburgs all other reigning families are almost modern, since the first Habsburg Emperor dates from 1273. Francis Joseph is the lineal descendant of this Emperor, though in the eighteenth century the male line was broken and the title descended through a daughter of the house—the celebrated Maria Theresa. Then there is the peculiar nature of the realm over which Francis Joseph rules. This consists of an enormous territory populated by no fewer than seven distinct peoples, and including several separate kingdoms and parts of kingdoms. All these countries and peoples are bound together by one single tie—allegiance to the house of Habsburg. Either by inheritance or conquest all are hereditary possessions of that house, and the aged Emperor is recognized by all as their rightful sovereign, even in those countries which retain the strongest sense of their national independence. When Francis Joseph ascended the throne, in 1848, he did not find this acquiescence in his claims. Almost every part of his realm was then in flames, and his capital was in the hands of rebels. It was only after years of work that he found himself securely seated on the throne of an empire which, however divided in itself, was at one in loyalty to him and his house.

Apart from his historical and political claim to interest, however, Francis Joseph the man has had one of the most romantic and tragic stories in all the annals of real life. Many striking figures crowd into his life story. In his early youth the dominating one was that of his mother, the Archduchess Sophia, a proud and ambitious woman, who did all she could to retain her influence after he became Emperor, and is even believed to have encouraged him in frivolous amusements which were likely to distract his attention from affairs of state. His companions as a child were the sons of his governor, the Counts Charles and Marc Bombelles (an Austrian family of Portuguese origin), François de Coronini and Count Taafe, of Italian and Irish descent, respectively. It cannot be said that any of these exercised a good influence. Taafe in later life was an ultra-conservative and reactionary, and the Bombelles and their father enjoyed bad moral as well as political reputations. The father, Count Henry Bombelles, encouraged Francis Joseph in low adventures and in leading a frivolous life, in which, it is said, the Archduchess Sophia acquiesced. In after years the evil influence of the Bombelles was transferred to the Crown Prince Rudolph, and some idea of it can be gained from the nickname bestowed upon Charles by the outspoken Viennese. The natural tendency to gallantry of the Habsburgs and the weakest points of his own character seem to have been accentuated by those who came in contact with young Francis Joseph. Even his professor of morals and philosophy, Othmar de Rauscher, afterwards Prince-Archbishop of Vienna, winked at his peccadilloes. His very talents were a snare, for, like most Austrians, he was a most accomplished dancer, a fine horseman and hunter, and fond of society, in which he was bound to shine.

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With all his amiability, however, he was always *grand seigneur*, and none knows better how to combine pride and simplicity.

The political influence of all his early friends was in favor of reaction and absolutism, and consequently the first decade of the Emperor's reign was marked with repression and a severity out of keeping with his true character. But one of his strongest points has always been a capacity for learning, and so, little by little, he came to realize the truth of the situation, and in due time began to incline to a more liberal policy.

Meanwhile the second period of his private life began in 1854, with his marriage to his cousin, the seventeen-year-old Archduchess Elizabeth of Bavaria (of the house of Wittelsbach). Marriage has always been restricted for the Catholic Habsburgs to certain houses—the Wittelsbachs, Bourbons, Savoys, or the Albertine branch of Saxony. The two most often united, and the most degenerate, were the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs, and in the union now arranged the contracting parties brought the fatal legacies of insanity and epilepsy respectively. Outwardly, however, the marriage was in every way suitable. The young, ardent, and handsome bridegroom, and the exquisitely beautiful, sensitive, talented, and innocent Elizabeth, were as fine a pair as could be seen anywhere. It was a love match on his side, and on hers, so far as a seventeen-year-old girl most strictly brought up is able to feel that passion.

Alas! the unhappiness of their married life was for long the scandal of Europe, and has been only too fully discussed. This began when they had been married only a few months. The truth is that the Empress, an intensely romantic, sentimental, and proud woman, was the worst possible wife for the easy-going, kind-hearted, impressionable "Franz." He transgressed, she wept and stormed, and where a woman of the world might have managed him, and even kept him straight, she merely succeeded in estranging and tiring him. Any chance the young couple might have had of settling their mutual differences was spoiled by the interference of relatives. The Archduchess Sophia, who took charge of the Prince Rudolph almost from his birth, and took him away from his mother, had no sympathy for her daughter-in-law, and despised her as a sentimentalist. The Empress, moreover, estranged the Court by her dislike for etiquette and ceremony, as well as by her puritanical ideas and refusal to listen to gossip. The result is well known. After attempting to run away on her yacht from Trieste, she was brought back to Vienna, and a doctor was induced under pressure to sign a certificate that pulmonary disease rendered her residence in Vienna impossible. She then began those piteous "wander years"—in Madeira, Algeria, Corfu, Norway, and elsewhere—in which she tried to distract herself with change of scene, only reappearing at Vienna occasionally for flying visits to attend some court ceremony. In 1866 she had a reconciliation with her husband at Venice, and returned to Austria for a time, where she busied herself with her costly hunting lodge at Lainz, in Austria, and later at Godöllö in Hungary, where she mastered the wildest animals and gained the love of the Hungarians. In 1868 the Archduchess Marie Valerie was born, who became the favorite of both father and mother, and was much with them until her marriage in 1890. But the Empress was never able to accept contentedly the conditions of life with her husband in Vienna, and went frequently abroad—to Algeria, Normandy, England, and Ireland—anywhere where she could satisfy the craving for frequent change and for physical exertion which was the only resort for her suffering mind. Her feats of horsemanship and her recklessness were common talk, and she made no secret that she courted death, though she would not actually take her own life. Having resigned any attempt to take her place in her husband's empire, she made friends without regard to their position, and two whom she admitted to intimacy were circus-riders. Her closest friend, who was with her on many of her wanderings, was Ida von Ferenczy, a Hungarian lady, and among her own little court and personal servants she was idolized. One

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of her solaces was learning languages, and she spoke English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Greek, and Arabic, as well as German.

It is pleasant to be able to record that the later days in the life of this ill-assorted couple were passed in amity, and that when the tragedy of Meyerling was to be broken to the Emperor, it was his wife who took upon herself the heavy task, saying, "I alone must tell him." In 1898 Elizabeth found the peace she had sought so long through the knife of an assassin at Geneva, and there are two accounts of the manner in which the terrible news was received by her husband. One is that a Minister, who had an appointment with him on business, was deputed to break the news, and that he did so in fear and trembling of the effect, but Francis Joseph received it with stony composure, and after a few moments' silence turned round and, holding out his hand, asked for the official paper which the Minister had brought for signature. Another account—probably both have some truth—says that the Emperor exclaimed, "Is nothing, then, to be left to me?" In any case there can be no doubt that Elizabeth's tragic end was a severe blow to him The only non sacred picture in his bare bedroom, with its Spartan furniture, is one of the Empress in the pride of her beauty, which hangs over his narrow camp bed.

There are two contrasting views of the Emperor, which, however, are not incompatible with each other. On the one hand he is "Our Franz"—the father of his people, the lover of little children, the good friend and comrade of his beloved Viennese, among whom he goes without guards or police. Every Monday and Thursday he gives open audience of several hours, the only formality being that of inscribing the name and object of the visit a few days before. Only frivolous requests are debarred. The stories of these audiences are innumerable. Family disputes and matters of the most homely description have been laid before him for decision, and his patience and good humor are invariable. Nowadays, of course, the audiences are more restricted, to spare him fatigue. In the hunting field and forest, where until quite recent times the Emperor was a keen follower of the chase, no distinctions of rank were observed. The Emperor was clad in the roughest clothes, alpenstock in hand and gun on shoulder, and was the most cheery comrade. Indeed, while supporting rigorously the Court etiquette—from motives of policy—he has always been the simplest of men in private life. To this, and to his genuine love for them, he owes the affection in which he is held throughout his dominions by the poorest of his people. If things go wrong, "it is not the fault of our father the Kaiser, bless him! He does his best, good man, but those rascals of ministers—!" Like his ancestress Maria Theresa, he is on familiar terms with his "dear Viennese," and an amusing instance is told of this when the wedding of the Crown Prince was being celebrated. The crowd thronged so closely round the royal carriages that they could not get through till the Emperor stood up laughing and called out in the Viennese jargon, "Now, children! It is the wedding of the Crown Prince you've come to celebrate, not his funeral and your own. Let us have room to breathe!"

Opposed to this, but compatible with it, is the view of the Emperor as a military martinet. His upbringing was severely military, and his own leanings were all in that direction. It is related that, as a child, he cared only for soldiers as toys and to play at war. He has been reproached for treating his own son, on the parade ground, with the same rigorous indifference as his brother officers. But this does not seem to be open to criticism, since the Prince was simply "colonel," when acting in a military capacity, and the Emperor spoke, not as a father, but as commander-in-chief.

Another accusation is that, especially in later life, he has exhibited great political instability and treachery, and that his Ministers never know from day to day whether they are secure in their offices. This illustrates a side of the Emperor's character which is known, but not always fully appreciated. He is a most conscientious ruler, and never signs any document without being fully

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aware of its contents. He also keeps in closest touch with all the political happenings of the day. It may be that a crisis approaches. The Minister offers to resign, but the Emperor asks him to remain, and he thinks himself more firmly seated than ever. His master, however, is only reviewing the situation and thinking out alternative solutions. When he has found what he wants, he lets the Minister have a hint to resign—sometimes he even appoints a successor first! Banffy was astonished in this way when Szell announced his own appointment as Premier, and the news so startled the ex-Premier that he let fall a valuable pipe and broke it! A few years later Szell himself had an equally unpleasant surprise when he heard that Count Tisza was forming a Hungarian Cabinet. In 1904, on the morning of December 31, Körber had no idea that within twenty-four hours Baron Gautsch would be in his seat. Finally, Goluchowski vainly tendered his resignation three weeks before he fell, and had no idea when he entered the Emperor's Cabinet for the last time that his tenure of office was so near its end. The Emperor's object is to choose quietly the man who he thinks will fit the situation, and to avoid the intrigues which would at once begin if the portfolio were known to be vacant. His long experience in ruling has given him great dexterity in such maneuvers.

He is always ready to listen to advice, but seldom takes it. "Yes, yes!" he replied to a public man who had treated him to a lecture on the principles of government, "all that is excellent—in theory. But to know what is possible—in practice—one needs to have been an Emperor fifty years!" His extraordinary memory, combined with so long an experience, enables him to put his Ministers right on many questions, especially those involving precedents or previous legislation. On one occasion he detected a grave contradiction in the draft of a penal code which had quite escaped the notice of the lawyer who engrossed it. His memory for faces is equally good. "Give me a few minutes," he has often said, "and I can never forget a face." He is credited with recognizing men after ten or twenty years' absence, and on one celebrated occasion he recognized Count Leopold Palffy, whom he had not seen for twenty-seven years, and then only when the Count stood on guard at a military academy during an inspection by the Emperor.

Perhaps these kingly attributes, the result of long training, might be expected in the descendant of centuries of emperors, but in one respect Francis Joseph is a surprise. He has not the cast-iron prejudices of his race, but endeavors to move with the times. Only this year he supported and inaugurated the granting of a franchise to his Austrian subjects which is the most liberal in Europe, and this in the teeth of universal opposition from the conservative elements. There was an ulterior motive in the action, but even as a remedy it was heroic and showed that the Emperor is keenly alive to the tendencies of the day. As a ruler, therefore, Francis Joseph is justly regarded as not only one of the ablest but one of the most successful, and it is an open question as to whether his successor will be able to hold together the heterogeneous realm which the present Emperor controls by a mixture of diplomacy and personal popularity.

In person, Francis Joseph, when the writer saw him last year, was a healthy, vigorous-looking old man, with upright carriage and firm tread. He keeps his health, in the teeth of so much worry and responsibility, by a life of scrupulous regularity and temperance, and a single-hearted devotion to duty which renders his tasks less irksome. The excesses of his youth are long past, but he still indulges a platonic friendship which would give rise to scandal under other circumstances. His friend is an ex-actress, Madame Schratt, an elderly and respectable lady, who occupies a villa near the palace in Vienna, or at Ischl when the Emperor goes there. This friendship, which has lasted for twenty-five years, has never been condemned by public opinion, and when insulting references were once made to it in the Reichsrath by the pan-German deputy Schönerer, he was nearly torn to pieces by the populace, and had to have police protection. The late Empress, even,

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recognized Madame Schratt and went to see her at Ischl. A favorite portrait of Francis Joseph, sold all over Austria, shows him sitting at breakfast with Madame Schratt, with her favorite dog on a chair between them. There is no doubt that she owes this toleration to her tact and judgment in never abusing her position, and to her good heart. It is believed that her influence with the Emperor is never exerted save in a good cause, and she has never interfered in politics or sought appointments for friends or relatives.

Every morning the Emperor rises between 4 and 5 A.M. and goes to take his morning coffee with Madame Schratt, who has to be dressed and ready to receive him—rather a penalty for a royal friendship! The two often take a walk together, and it is related that on one of these walks the Emperor told her that her favorite dog, a gift from himself, had been badly brought up. "I am surprised, sir," she replied, "since he was brought up in your house!" "In my stables, Madame, not in my house," chuckled the Emperor, very pleased with his own retort. After the morning stroll he goes to his standing desk and works hard till eight, when he has what is called "the first breakfast"—a meal sometimes dispensed with in summer. At twelve lunch is laid; and dinner, which he frequently takes at the house of Madame Schratt, is eaten between four and five o'clock. He drinks only Pilsen beer with his dinner, and one glass of good Bordeaux after the meal, which is prepared by his own cook wherever he goes. After dinner two or three elderly men come to play cards, the game being invariably Tarok. The names of all these players are not known with any certainty, but one is Herr Palmer, the director of the Landesbank, and another the well-known financier, Taussig. The whole *ménage*, and Madame Schratt herself, bring the Emperor into close touch with the simple, homely middle class in which most of the brains of Austria are found, and prevent the old man from being dominated by the reactionary archdukes and archduchesses. After the cards the Emperor goes home to a light supper and bed about nine o'clock; and this is the daily programme, varied, of course, by ceremonies of state, audiences, and occasional expeditions. Once a splendid horseman, Francis Joseph can now sit his horse only for occasional parades or functions, but he still does a little shooting when he stays at Ischl, where the whole *ménage* is more rustic and informal than in Vienna.

His love of children has always been pronounced, and there are many pretty stories in connection with it. He is devoted to the children of Marie Valerie, and would like to have had his granddaughter Elizabeth (daughter of Rudolph and Stephanie) with him for part of every year soon after she married, but family jealousies prevented this for some time. At last he put his foot down, and his favorite came with her children to occupy rooms specially prepared for them at Schönbrunn, to the great delight of great-grandpapa. He was always going there to see if they had everything they wanted, and once, when the eldest child asked for a spoon, said, "Grandpapa knows where the spoons live!" and before the servants could move he had trotted off to fetch one. On another occasion, when driving through the crowd, he heard a little voice piping, "I want to see the Kaiser!" "And so you shall!" he said, and stopped the carriage and went towards the voice until the crowd fell back and gave the little one her chance.

Altogether this oldest of monarchs is an attractive, lovable, and very human character, and one can well understand the affection of his people. His intellect is not above the average, but by devotion and careful attention to detail he has acquired a wisdom which more gifted men may envy. His stormy, ill-guided youth might well have been the prelude to worse things, but Francis Joseph had one guiding star—the sense of duty and responsibility to his people—and this has brought him safely through the shoals to an honored old age.

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NATIONAL CONTROL OF INTER-STATE RAILWAYS

BY SETH LOW

Mr. Low's paper, which was delivered as an address last week in Chicago at the conference on Trusts of the National Civic Federation, is one of the clearest and most sensible statements of the American railway problem that we have yet seen. Mr. Low, who, as our readers very well know, was formerly President of Columbia University and later Mayor of New York City, has an international reputation in the fields of commerce, finance, politics, and education.—THE EDITORS.

THE railway situation in the United States at the present time deserves the most earnest consideration. The movement of merchandise has outstripped present facilities, and the railways would like to enlarge; but they find it difficult to get the necessary money. The public wants the railways to enlarge; but it will not furnish the money. Ordinarily, the promise of a good return on the investment would secure ample funds. Why is it that, in a time of great commercial activity, the funds are not forthcoming? Doubtless there are many reasons, and one of the most evident is that so much money is needed that it is hard to get enough. But, back of all that, there lie two influences which certainly have to be reckoned with. The plain man understands that business enterprises and good service are entitled to fair earnings. What he does not understand is, in what respect railway business so far differs from any other business that those upon the inside can honestly and honorably become multi-millionaires, while those upon the outside so often find themselves the owners of worthless stock. He observes that the directors of savings banks do not become rich in that way. He suspects, therefore, that the many millions of the few have, in many cases, been made at the expense of those for whom these few have been trustees. He thinks that there has been in railway boards of direction a widespread loss of the sense of trusteeship; and he is more and more coming to demand of railway directors the same sort of self-abnegation that the law demands of a private trustee as towards his ward. The law allows a trustee reasonable compensation; but it does not allow the personal enrichment of the trustee at the expense of the ward. It is true that railway directors and railway stockholders buy and sell upon an open market. But whenever a director buys upon private information obtained by him as a director, the question must arise in the domain of conscience, Would his stockholder sell if he had the same information? That, in my judgment, is the sort of feeling that underlies a great deal of the criticism of high finance; the feeling that the investment public, not the inside few but the outside many, are entitled to the same sort of protection from the law that the law gives as towards trustees for individuals. Hence the demand for Government control on the side of railway financiering.

The same demand for Government control comes, also, from those who use the railways—that is to say, from the general public. But this demand, I think, and the troubles that confront the railways because of it, spring largely from different considerations. A radical change is taking place in the public conception of what a railway is. Up to recent times it has been taken for granted that railroading is a branch of private business. That has been substantially the conception embodied in law; and that has certainly been the conception of those building and operating railways. But, if that is the correct conception of railroading, what is the objection to rebating? It is a well-established characteristic of commercial business that goods can be moved in a wholesale way more cheaply than at retail. If, then, railroading is a private business, why should it not be all right for the largest shipper to be given the lowest rates?

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Experience, on the other hand, has made it clear that the railways, upon whom everybody is dependent, by practicing rebating make it possible for the favored shipper to drive all competitors out of the market. Hence the belief is becoming general, outside perhaps of railway and investment circles, that railways are not to be looked upon as conducting a private business; they are rather to be thought of as private agents conducting a part of the business of the state. In other words, what the public wants in railway management is the public quality, as distinguished from the business quality. That is to say, it wants equality of treatment for all alike, large shippers and small, instead of the discriminations that are usual and to be expected in private business. The importance of the distinction can be well illustrated by the tariff. An importer who brings into the country $1,000,000 worth of silk goods must pay exactly the same rate of duty as the importer who brings in only $1,000 worth. That equality of treatment indicates the public quality of the tariff. Suppose, on the other hand, that, after the manner of business, the tariff charged the large importers only 40 per cent, and made the little ones pay 60 per cent, is it not clear that the large importers could drive all the little ones out of business? But that is precisely what the railways have been doing with their rebates; and that is why the public are no longer willing to admit that railroading is a private business. That is why the people demand that the railways themselves should recognize that they are only private agents doing a part of the public business; and that is why the public demand that the law henceforth shall proceed upon this new view of what railways are. The demand heard in some quarters that railways shall belong to the Government and be operated by the Government, presumably does not spring from any special desire to have the Government do this business directly instead of through private agencies; but it springs principally from the notion that in no other way can railway service be stamped with the public quality that means absolute equality of treatment of big and little shippers and big and little places; in a word, that all shall be treated alike. Personally, I do not believe that public ownership or public operation are either the only ways or the best ways to obtain the desired results. Two things, however, remain to be said. The first is that it rests very largely with railway directors and managers themselves whether the country is driven into public ownership and operation of the railways, or whether the country can continue to avail of private initiative, private enterprise, and private capital in this department of the public service. The second is that, if the private management of railways is to be indefinitely continued, Government regulation both of railway finances and of railway service is absolutely essential. It may be taken for granted that the public will insist, unceasingly, on having the public quality of equal treatment for all predominate in all the relations of the railways to the public, as distinguished from the business quality of discrimination on the basis of the volume of business. Government regulation may indeed lead to the non-production of multi-millionaires as a by-product of railroading, but it ought also to mean, to investors, increasingly safe returns.

But regulation by law in the United States raises another question. Shall it be regulation by the States or by the United States, or by both? For the most part, this question is argued from the constitutional point of view. It is easy to say that the jurisdiction of the United States is limited to inter-State commerce, and the jurisdiction of each State to commerce within itself. But that leaves open the question, What are the limits of inter-State commerce? To answer that question one must consider both history and present fact. There are two clauses in the Constitution of the United States, as Judge Amidon recently pointed out, and not one only, that bear upon the subject. The first is the clause forbidding any State to levy duties on imported merchandise; and the second is the clause placing inter-State commerce under the control of the General Government. In other words, the framers of the Constitution, having seen how ready each State was, in the

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days preceding our present Union, to advantage itself by laying burdens upon its neighbors, inserted these two clauses to obviate this danger. They forbade, explicitly, direct attacks by one State on the commerce of another, in the form of duties; and then, recognizing that what the States could do directly they could also do indirectly, the whole subject of inter-State commerce was placed under the general control, in order to make it impossible for any one State to injure another.

So much for history. Now for the present fact. As long as strong individuals could get favorable terms for themselves, they were indifferent to the question of freights as that question affects localities. But it may be taken for granted that the end of rebating has introduced the day of strife between localities for what each will call fair treatment. As competing localities are often, if not always, in different States, the appeal to each State to protect its own is likely to become more and more urgent. In the rate bills already passed in different States there is complete disregard of the effect of the action of one State on the railway service of any other State. This is a force, therefore, making steadily for Federal control. In other words, it is a modern exhibition of the spirit that originally caused the inter-State commerce clause to be placed in the United States Constitution. The railways themselves, also, have done everything to make Federal control inevitable; for they have shown themselves, if not lawless, at least disposed to select for themselves the law that they propose to obey. They have incorporated in the State that will give them the most favors; and they have pursued their devious way in and out between the State and Federal law with almost the capacity of water for finding the weakest spot. The inquiry now going on in New York into Standard Oil affairs has revealed how skillfully large corporations are advised, so that they can evade an unwelcome requirement of Federal control by taking refuge under State control. When State control pinches, they appeal just as readily to the Federal law. This state of facts tends constantly to the widening of the meaning of the words "inter-State commerce" in the United States Constitution. It seems to me altogether likely that these words will ultimately be given a meaning so wide as to embrace all commerce as to which there is any possibility that action by one State may affect unfavorably any other State. In other words, I think that ultimately one law will govern all railways bearing inter-State relations, in substantially all their relations to commerce, whether within the State or without the State. However great the fear of the common people may be of centralization in government, I think that fear will prove to be less great than their fear of centralization in corporations controlling the highways of commerce, that are so far lawless as to be able to select, largely at their own pleasure, the law that they will observe, whether National or local.

If it be accepted, as it appears that it must be, that an era of Governmental control, either by the States or by the Nation, or by both, has set in, it is important to consider what ought to be the characteristic of such control. Clearly the laws regulating railway corporations ought to have in mind as their object the securing of equal treatment for all citizens; and, in return, they should give the railways the protection of the Government in the conduct of the business committed to their charge, as agents of the public. Doubtless publicity is one of the essential features of Government control; but publicity ought to be applied not only to the record of what has been done; it may also be made highly useful in passing upon the propriety of important things that are proposed to be done. Already this principle has been resorted to, more or less freely, in many of the Acts relating to the control of railways; but it will yet be found, I think, that it can be applied more and more freely to questions of policy, as circumstances bring such questions to the front. Mr. Dawes, recently Comptroller of the Currency, has pointed out very forcibly that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, passed in 1890, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, has worked great hardship to the railways without being

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of any advantage to the public. This is because the law undertakes to forbid all combinations in business, without regard to the nature of the combination. In other words, it does not distinguish between combinations having a good object and combinations having a bad object. It seems clear that a law which would permit combinations between railways, after the terms of the proposed agreement had been submitted to the Inter-State Commerce Commission and had been approved by that body, would be making use of the force of publicity in a very helpful way. Agreements that are perfectly understood by the public at the time of making, and that are made with the authority of the public, and that are subject to revision, in case of need, by the same authority, may reasonably be expected to work in the public interest. It is the things that are done in secret, without public knowledge, and often without regard to the public interest, from which the public suffers. In an age like this, when the large unit is demonstrating its economy in everything, when the steamships are larger than ever before, when locomotives are more powerful than ever before, when every sort of combination in mechanics is on a scale greater than ever dreamed of in any previous epoch, it is not only idle to suppose that the industries and transportation systems of the country can be successfully conducted in small units, but it is also manifestly to the disadvantage of the public to try to have them so conducted. The large corporation has demonstrated its efficiency and its economy too strongly to leave any room for doubt that, in a country like ours, if the people are to be well served, there must be large combinations in the transportation service, as elsewhere. The problem is how to secure the benefit of such combinations without suffering the evils which they are also capable of developing. The only answer that has been suggested, outside of Government ownership and operation, is Governmental control; and that control ought to be so devised as both to permit and to encourage combinations and joint agreements between railways whenever these are in the public interest. The two things that are necessary to make such regulation effective are, first of all, a recognition that the railway service of the country is really a part of the public service, although it is conducted through private agencies; and, secondly, that the object of Governmental control of the private agencies doing this business is not to limit their activities, but to make sure that all their activities are conceived, first and last, in the public interest. This is really the democratization of business. It is very greatly to be hoped that legislation along these lines can be had from Congress at an early day.

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THE TUOLUMNE YOSEMITE IN DANGER

BY JOHN MUIR

THE Hetch Hetchy Valley, "that wonderful counterpart of Yosemite," as State Geologist Whitney called it, was discovered by Mr. Joseph Sereech in 1850, the year before the discovery of Yosemite, when the Digger Indians held possession of it as an acorn orchard. After my first visit in the autumn of 1871, I have always called it the Tuolumne Yosemite, for it is a wonderfully exact counterpart of the great Yosemite, not only in its crystal river and sublime rocks and waterfalls, but in the gardens, groves, and meadows of its flowery, park-like floor. The floor of Yosemite is about 4,000 feet above the sea, the Hetch Hetchy floor about 3,700; the walls of both are of gray granite, rise abruptly out of the flowery grass and groves, are sculptured in the same style, and in both every rock is a glacial monument.

Standing boldly out from the south wall is a strikingly picturesque rock called Kolana by the Indians, the outermost of a group 2,300 feet high, corresponding with the Cathedral Rocks of Yosemite both in relative position and form. On the opposite side of the Valley, facing Kolona, there is a counterpart of the El Capitan of Yosemite rising sheer and plain to a height of 1,800 feet, and over its massive brow flows a stream which makes the most graceful fall I have ever seen. From the edge of the cliff it is perfectly free in the air for a thousand feet, then breaks up into a ragged sheet of cascades among the boulders of an earthquake talus. It is in all its glory in June, when the snow is melting fast, but fades and vanishes toward the end of summer. The only fall I know with which it may fairly be compared is the Yosemite Bridal Veil; but it excels even that favorite fall both in height and airy fairy beauty and behavior. Lowlanders are apt to suppose that mountain streams in their wild careèr over cliffs lose control of themselves and tumble in a noisy chaos of mist and spray. On the contrary, on no part of their travels are they more harmonious and self-controlled. Imagine yourself in Hetch Hetchy on a sunny day in June, standing waist-deep in grass and flowers (as I have oftentimes stood), while the great pines sway dreamily with scarce perceptible motion. Looking northward across the Valley, you see a plain, gray granite cliff rising abruptly out of the gardens and groves to a height of 1,800 feet, and in front of it Tueeulala's silvery scarf burning with irised sun-fire in every fiber. In the first white outburst of the stream at the head of the fall there is abundance of visible energy, but it is speedily hushed and concealed in divine repose; and its tranquil progress to the base of the cliff is like that of downy feathers in a still room. Now observe the fineness and marvelous distinctness of the various sun-illumined fabrics into which the water is woven; they sift and float from form to form down the face of that grand gray rock in so leisurely and unconfused a manner that you can examine their texture, and patterns, and tones of color as you would a piece of embroidery held in the hand. Near the head of the fall you see groups of booming comet-like masses, their solid white heads separate, their tails like combed silk interlacing among delicate shadows, ever forming and dissolving, worn out by friction in their rush through the air. Most of these vanish a few hundred feet below the summit, changing to the varied forms of cloud-like drapery. Near the bottom the width of the fall has increased from about twenty-five to a hundred feet. Here it is composed of yet finer tissues, and is still without a trace of disorder—air, water, and sunlight woven into stuff that spirits might wear.

So fine a fall might well seem sufficient to glorify any valley; but here, as in Yosemite, Nature seems in nowise moderate, for a short distance to the eastward of Tueeulala booms and thunders

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the great Hetch Hetchy Fall, Wapama, so near that you have both of them in full view from the same standpoint. It is the counterpart of the Yosemite Fall, but has a much greater volume of water, is about 1,700 feet in height, and appears to be nearly vertical though considerably inclined, and is dashed into huge out-bounding bosses of foam on the projecting shelves and knobs of its jagged gorge. No two falls could be more unlike—Tueeulala out in the open sunshine descending like thistledown; Wapama in a jagged, shadowy gorge roaring and thundering, pounding its way with the weight and energy of an avalanche. Besides this glorious pair there is a broad, massive fall on the main river a short distance above the head of the Valley. Its position is something like that of the Vernal in Yosemite, and its roar as it plunges into a surging trout-pool may be heard a long way, though it is only about twenty feet high. There is also a chain of magnificent cascades at the head of the Valley on a stream that comes in from the northeast, mostly silvery plumes like the one between the Vernal and Nevada falls of Yosemite, half sliding, half leaping on bare glacier-polished granite, covered with crisp clashing spray into which the sunbeams pour with glorious effect. And besides all these a few small streams come over the walls here and there, leaping from ledge to ledge with birdlike song and watering many a hidden cliff garden and fernery, but they are too unshowy to be noticed in so grand a place.

The correspondence between the Hetch Hetchy walls in their trends, sculpture, physical structure, and general arrangement of the main rock-masses and those of the Yosemite Valley has excited the wondering admiration of every observer. We have seen that the El Capitan and Cathedral rocks occupy the same relative positions in both valleys, so also do their Yosemite Points and North Domes. Again, that part of the Yosemite north wall immediately to the east of the Yosemite Fall has two horizontal benches timbered with gold-cup oak, at about 500 and 1,500 feet above the floor. Two benches similarly situated and timbered occur on the same relative portion of the Hetch Hetchy north wall, to the east of Wapama Fall, and on no other. The Yosemite is bounded at the head by the great Half Dome. Hetch Hetchy is bounded in the same way, though its head rock is far less wonderful and sublime in form.

The floor of the Valley is about three and a half miles long and from a fourth to half a mile wide. The lower portion is mostly a level meadow about a mile long, with the trees restricted to the sides, and partially separated from the upper forested portion by a low bar of glacier-polished granite across which the river breaks in rapids.

The principal trees are the yellow and sugar pines, Sabine pine, incense cedar, Douglas spruce, silver fir, the California and gold-cup oaks, Balm of Gilead poplar, Nuttall's flowering dogwood, alder, maple, laurel, tumion, etc. The most abundant and influential are the great yellow pines, the tallest over two hundred feet in height, and the oaks assembled in magnificent groves with massive rugged trunks four to six or seven feet in diameter, and broad, shady, wide-spreading heads. The shrubs forming conspicuous flowery clumps and tangles are manzanita, azalea, Spiræa, brier-rose, Ceanothus, Calycanthus, Philadelphus, wild cherry, etc.; with abundance of showy and fragrant herbaceous plants growing about them or out in the open in beds by themselves—lilies, Mariposa tulips, Brodiæas, orchids—several species of each—iris, Spraguea, Draperia, Collomia, Collinsia, Castilleia, Nemophila, larkspur, columbine, goldenrods, sunflowers and mints of many species, and honeysuckle, etc. Many fine ferns dwell here also, especially the beautiful and interesting rock-ferns—Pellæa, and Cheilanthes of several species—fringing and rosetting dry rock piles and ledges; Woodwardia and Asplenium on damp spots with fronds six or seven feet high; the delicate maidenhair in mossy nooks by the falls; and the sturdy, broad-shouldered Pteris beneath the oaks and pines.

It appears, therefore, that Hetch Hetchy Valley, far from being a plain, common, rock-bound meadow, as many who have not seen it seem to suppose, is a grand landscape garden, one of

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Nature's rarest and most precious mountain mansions. As in Yosemite, the sublime rocks of its walls seem to the Nature-lover to glow with life, whether leaning back in repose or standing erect in thoughtful attitudes giving welcome to storms and calms alike. And how softly these mountain rocks are adorned, and how fine and reassuring the company they keep—their brows in the sky, their feet set in groves and gay emerald meadows, a thousand flowers leaning confidingly against their adamantine bosses, while birds, bees, butterflies help the river and waterfalls to stir all the air into music—things frail and fleeting and types of permanence meeting here and blending, as if into this glorious mountain temple Nature had gathered her choicest treasures, whether great or small, to draw her lovers into close, confiding communion with her.

Sad to say, this most precious and sublime feature of the Yosemite National Park is in danger of being dammed and made into a reservoir to help supply San Francisco with water and light, thus flooding it from wall to wall and burying its gardens and groves one hundred and seventy-five feet deep. This destructive scheme has long been planned and prayed for, and is still being prayed for by the City Supervisors, not because water as pure and abundant cannot be got from sources outside of the Park, for it can, but only because of the comparative shortness and cheapness of the dam required.

Garden and park making goes on with civilization over all the world, for everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in where Nature may heal and cheer and give strength to body and soul alike. This natural beauty hunger is made manifest in the little window-sill gardens of the poor, though only a geranium slip in a broken cup, as well as in the radiant rose and lily gardens of the rich, the thousands of spacious city parks and botanical gardens, and in our magnificent National parks—the Yellowstone, Yosemite, Sequoia, etc.—Nature's sublime wonderlands, the admiration and joy of the world. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, however well guarded, they have all been subject to attack by gain-seekers trying to despoil them, mischief-makers and robbers of every degree from Satan to Senators, city supervisors, lumbermen, cattlemen, farmers, etc., trying to make everything dollarable, oftentimes disguised in smiles and philanthropy, calling their plundering "utilization of natural beneficent resources," that man and beast may be fed and the Nation allowed to grow great. Thus the Lord's garden in Eden and the first forest reservation, including only one tree, was spoiled. And so to some extent have all our reservations and parks. Ever since the establishment of the Yosemite National Park by act of Congress, October 1, 1890, constant strife has been going on around its borders, and I suppose will go on as part of the universal battle between right and wrong, however much its boundaries may be shorn.

The first application to the Government by the San Francisco Supervisors for the use of Lake Eleanor and the Hetch Hetchy Valley was made in 1903, and denied December 22 of that year by the Secretary of the Interior. In his report on this case he well says: "Presumably the Yosemite National Park was created such by law because of the natural objects of varying degrees of scenic importance located within its boundaries, inclusive alike of its beautiful small lakes, like Eleanor, and its majestic wonders, like Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite Valley. It is the aggregation of such natural scenic features that makes the Yosemite Park a wonderland which the Congress of the United States sought by law to preserve for all coming time as nearly as practicable in the condition fashioned by the hand of the Creator—a worthy object of National pride and a source of healthful pleasure and rest for the thousands of people who may annually sojourn there during the heated months."

Should this noble Valley be submerged as proposed, not only would it be made utterly inaccessible, but the great Tuolumne Cañon way leading to the Upper Tuolumne Meadows, the focus of pleasure travel in the High Sierra, would also be blocked. None, as far as I have learned, of all the thousands who have seen the Yosemite Park is in favor of this destructive water scheme, and the

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only hope of its promoters seems to be in the darkness that covers it. Public opinion is not yet awakened, but as soon as light reaches it I believe that nine-tenths or more of even the citizens of San Francisco would be opposed to Hetch Hetchy destruction. The voice of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors is not the voice of California nor of the Nation.

THE NATION'S HOUSEKEEPING AT PANAMA

BY GERTRUDE BEEKS

Secretary Welfare Department, The National Civic Federation

The author of this article spent some time on the Isthmus of Panama as the representative of the National Civic Federation in order to make thorough investigation of the conditions as to social life, food, and housing under which the great work is being carried on by the employees of the United States. A full report on these subjects has been made and has been submitted by the Federation to Secretary Taft. It should be added that the Government has shown the greatest interest in this investigation, and some of the recommendations made by Miss Beeks have already been adopted, while others are still under consideration. It should further be stated that Miss Beeks's qualifications for this particular kind of work are quite unusual, because of her six years' practical experience in dealing with many phases of the industrial problem in the United States, and in making and putting into effect plans for the well-being of men and women in stores, mills, factories, and elsewhere.—THE EDITORS.

THE Government has on its hands not only a vast engineering work, but a stupendous task in caring for the material well-being of its employees on the Isthmus of Panama. At the outset, makeshifts were the order of the day. Two years of steady work has wonderfully improved the general conditions of living, and constant progress is being noted. That it takes time to build up a community life, with adequate provision for the physical and social necessities of its people, may readily be granted. While a good start has been made, there is still much to be done to produce conditions which we have a right to expect from an enterprise under the management of the National Government. The comparatively isolated position of the workers, combined with the exigencies of a tropical climate, necessitate comprehensive measures to secure health and well-being. Facts were gathered during an investigation of several weeks, with personal inspection, and converse with officials, employees, and all classes of residents. It is therefore believed that statements are accurate, and that no needs have been formulated that are not genuine.

"How did you find the climate?" is the question asked on every side. There is great curiosity to know how a tropical climate, which the average person associates with intense heat, affects the visitor, as well as those who permanently locate in the Canal Zone. While the climate is, of course, one of continued summer, it is that of summer and nothing more. It has a rainy season, extending over eight months, with frequent though not uninterrupted rainfall. Then the moisture of the atmosphere brings with it some discomforts in the mustiness of bedding and the mold which accumulates on shoes and woolen clothing. The cloudiness which follows from the moist climate is oftentimes a grateful shield from the sun's rays. The dry season, which extends over four months, is described as most delightful. The nights are generally cool, and blankets a necessity.

In the long run, the tropical light begets nervousness, and the continued warm weather saps the energy of resi-

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dents from a more varied climate. Prolonged residence would probably undermine the general health, especially if it were not interrupted by annual vacations in the States.

There are seventeen main camps where the American employees reside. They are compact settlements, with postal stations, fire department, telephone service, band-stands, news-stands at railway stations, and some of the other marks of a settled community. These villages present oftentimes quite an attractive appearance. All houses are constructed of wood, and are raised above the ground on posts. Great attention is given to the cleanliness of the streets and grounds. Even the spaces under the houses must be kept free from rubbish. Garbage-cans are supplied by the Government to facilitate this end. There are board walks, cinder paths, and thoroughfares of crushed stone. The frequent rains make their maintenance a necessity to prevent floundering in the mire. It may be mentioned incidentally that the United States Government has thoroughly paved the streets of the city of Panama, and is now completing the work in Colon.

A sewerage system has been installed from one end of the Isthmus to the other, and is being extended to the new camps.

Water is furnished to the majority of the camps from four large reservoirs. It is offensive for drinking unless boiled or distilled. The lack of palatable water in or near bachelors' quarters has caused considerable discomfort. Light is furnished by an electric light plant, which has recently been constructed and is to be rapidly extended. In some of the camps all the houses are now lighted by electricity as well as the streets.

The quarters vary according to the needs and previous standards of their occupants. Those furnished for the European laborers and West Indian negroes are neither so elaborate nor so thoroughly equipped as those given to the higher-priced American employees and mechanics.

In passing from the camps in general to the provisions for the workers, it is well to remember that they fall into three distinct classes. There are American clerks and mechanics, who are commonly designated as employees, and the laborers, who are divided again into Europeans and West Indian negroes. There is a further division of employees which frequently crops out in the distinction between those of the Isthmian Canal Commission and those of the Panama Railroad Company.

American married men on the Isthmus have the use of quite comfortable homes, consisting of parlor, dining-room, bedroom, kitchen, and bath. They are sometimes in single houses, but more frequently in two-story flat buildings. Many of the old French houses have been remodeled, and present a very attractive appearance. The American bachelors' quarters contain as many as twenty-four rooms each, there being from two to four occupants placed in a single room. The houses have verandas and windows screened. All contain toilet conveniences with modern plumbing. Bathrooms have shower-baths only, and no warm water, which is a serious drawback. Houses are painted gray, with white trimmings and red roofs. Interior walls are painted moss-green, with doors and framework in white. Both to families and to bachelors a small equipment of furniture is allotted, which would be adequate if it were always obtainable. It is generally of the mission type, or wicker furniture, and the homes thus furnished are quite often very artistic and attractive. Married employees furnish their own kitchen utensils and china, and all must buy blankets, sheets, and pillowcases, and pay for the cost of laundry. These facts describe the quarters at their best. They have not always been so comfortable, nor even at the present time are all able to secure them.

The contrast with earlier conditions is most striking, and is evidence of the progress which has already been made. Two or three years ago it was not uncommon to assign to employees old French houses where there were no mosquito-netting and no plumbing, and which were infested by bats, rats, and other objectionable creatures.

One of the main problems of living is

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to keep dry. Men return from work completely soaked. The bachelor in his quarters has a hard time because of the constant humidity in the wet season, and as he has no artificial heat available, he must string his clothes along the wall and over his bed in the often vain endeavor to dry them. Steam-heated drying-rooms, whether centrally located or attached to bachelor quarters, are an imperative necessity.

Bachelors suffer not infrequently from vermin because of the inefficient janitor service.

There is great need for more quarters. The present supply is inadequate to the demand. Men are obliged to wait what seems to them an interminable time before they can obtain homes for their families. They are not content to remain long without them, and through the inability to secure quarters the services of many competent men have been lost. More than a year is sometimes passed in this tedious way. Family life gives a man better food and other comforts, and thus insures greater permanency among the persons employed. The Government loses money by constantly transporting new men to the Isthmus, when by making those already there comfortable it could retain many. The need for additional quarters behooves the Government to take extraordinary methods to supply it. The camps there are gradually taking on the aspect of settled communities. Many of the families living there are better off than they ever were in the States, and it is felt that this is a good place to begin housekeeping, not only because quarters and other essentials are furnished free, but because there is an opportunity for saving and getting a good start in life.

The shortage of quarters for employees forces a certain number, much against their will, to board at the Hotel Tivoli. This is a beautiful structure on the order of a summer hotel for the use of transient guests and for employees who cannot be housed elsewhere. The rates for transients are absurdly high, considering the service rendered. Special rates are made to employees, but the cost of living there is considerably greater than in the camps where quarters are furnished free.

The barracks of the European laborers, including Greeks, Italians, and Spaniards, and of the West Indians are identical in construction, each house being one large dormitory, containing sixty to seventy-two or eighty-four cots. The air space is not always equal to the requirement of modern tenement-house laws. There is no furniture whatever on which to sit in the common laborers' dormitories when changing clothes or when it rains daytimes. It would be well to have wooden benches. Evenings the Europeans are allowed to sit in the mess halls, where they are provided with paper, pen, and ink for letter-writing, but the negroes have no such place. The cots are arranged one over the other in tiers of three. The majority are canvas, but many are made of metal lattice-work, which is a cruel arrangement, as there is nothing between the bodies of the laborers and the metal-work. In order that floors may be readily scrubbed, the clothes of the common laborers are kept on wide shelves around the tops of the rooms, which are accessible only by climbing ladders or mounting the cots.

The laborers, as well as the Americans, are required to buy blankets, and consequently few of the former have them. The principal malady from which the laborers suffer is pneumonia. This uneducated class, which will not care for itself, should be supplied with blankets by the Government, one for underneath the body, which has no protection from cold, and one for covering. Aside from its consideration from a humanitarian standpoint, this would save hospital expenses and cost of securing frequent fresh supplies of labor.

The Government's care of its employees does not end with furnishing them houses in which to live.

Bachelors generally board in the hotels or mess halls conducted by the Government. They rarely have any other choice. It has until recently been contrary to regulation for married employees to take in bachelors as table boarders. This rule has recently been somewhat relaxed.

When Colonel Goethals began his trips

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of investigation, in March, testimony was general that the food at the mess halls was bad, with a single exception. There has been considerable improvement since, through the adoption of the policy that these institutions should not make a profit, and should furnish proper fare even if loss is incurred. Colonel Goethals has insisted that a ten-cent meal should not be sold for thirty cents, which is the price charged. Mess halls for American bachelors are attractive quarters, with separate rooms and better equipment for those who wear coats than for those who, going directly from their work, prefer to eat in their shirt-sleeves. Monotonous cold breakfasts and inability to be served promptly form the burden of a general complaint. It is urged that there should not be "daily egg breakfasts; eggs, eggs, eggs, every morning!" Breakfasts are composed always of a cereal, eggs, bacon, coffee, and cakes. There is no reason why they should not be varied. Eggs are frequently musty, bacon of a poor quality, and coffee, to say the least, is often vile.

It is not uncommon for people to grumble about their food, but it should be remembered that plenty of wholesome food-fuel is more essential in the tropics than elsewhere. The body perspires so freely that a generous supply is required to replenish waste material. Unpalatable food seems more repulsive there, and one soon finds it impossible to eat. It is needless to point out how difficult it is for men to go about their work cheerfully and with good will under such conditions. Lack of variety, lack of seasoning, absence of ice-water, are not unfamiliar.

The European laborers are fed in separate mess halls, which are splendidly arranged, the dining-rooms containing uncovered tables and benches for seats. Enameled ware of the appearance of granite makes an excellent type of dishes. Italians, Greeks, and Spaniards have their tastes consulted and their favorite foods are furnished. Meals are supplied at forty cents a day, gold. They are allowed to take their little bottles of light wine, which they are accustomed to have with meals, to the mess halls. The West Indians, until the first of February, cooked their own food in any sort of fashion, in utensils on the ground, at their barracks. Owing to malnutrition and illness resulting therefrom, it was decided to erect cook-houses and prepare their food, which is now made a part of their wages. Employees file in front of a counter and their rations are handed to them from the kitchen. There is no place for them to sit when eating except under their barracks, like animals, or upon the floors in them.

Married people depend for their food on the Government commissaries, and bachelors also must depend upon them for other purposes. Refrigerated meat, butter, and eggs are distributed daily from the main commissary at Colon. Lack of care in handling meat has been a frequent complaint. It deteriorates very rapidly after being taken from the ice-box, and delay in delivery is fatal. The Government ice plant is a great boon to the community. The commissary department also operates a bakery with modern machinery. Its stock of dry goods is neither in quality nor variety such as should be expected. There was a lack of shoes, shirts, overalls, underwear, rain-coats, and other goods which would be desired by American workmen. Shirts and overalls purchased during the investigation are of very coarse materials and wretchedly manufactured. Furthermore, there are no goods or garments whatever for women and children, of whom there are twelve hundred Americans. There are two laundries, one at Colon and one at Ancon, equipped with modern appliances. If service is somewhat deficient, it is superior to the work done previously by the native washerwomen.

The sanitary work on the Isthmus has received great attention, and the two main hospitals at each end of the Isthmus are splendidly equipped. Employees are treated free of charge in these hospitals, and their families at very moderate rates. In the various camps there are dispensaries and receiving-rooms where lighter cases are treated.

Through the Panama Railroad Company the Government operates a line of steamships between New York and Colon, as well as the railway transporta-

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tion on the Isthmus. New employees have free transportation to the Isthmus, and those on vacations are transported at a very moderate charge. Unfortunately, accommodations are not up to the standard of commercial lines, where, by the way, generally travelers pay less than on the Government boats. The conditions under which the employees are transported to and from the Isthmus are simply intolerable. The boats are overcrowded, some staterooms poorly ventilated and badly located, the food is awful, and some of the ships are regarded as unsafe. It is not too much to say that both with reference to the treatment of the Isthmian Canal employees and the attendants of the boats, the steamship service is a disgrace to the Nation.

Having seen how the Government furnishes houses and provides for the material necessities of its workers, it remains to be shown what is done to meet their social needs.

Schools have been established for the white children at only five of the camps on the Isthmus. As the purpose of these schools has been to prevent the children from falling behind the grades in which they were at home rather than to advance them, it can hardly be said that they have reached a satisfactory development. Since family life has become so general upon the Isthmus, it is imperative that the schools be better organized. Lack of educational facilities deters men from going to the Isthmus, and sends them home after a brief sojourn. In contrast with the scanty provision for the white children are the excellent schools for the blacks at most of the camps.

Each camp has a two-story building for church services and lodge meetings. Ten chaplains of different denominations are employed in the hospitals.

One must recognize that recreation is an essential factor in life; and so the question of how the people amuse themselves becomes very important. Amusements in Panama are but little more numerous than snakes in Ireland, and the dreadful monotony of life upon the Isthmus is one of the real, serious problems with which the enterprise has to cope.

At four of the seventeen camps the Government has erected handsome club buildings, which it has placed under the management of the Young Men's Christian Association. These buildings are surrounded by wide screened verandas. Each contains billiard, pool, smoking, and lounging rooms, a bowling-alley, gymnasium, library, and a hall for dancing and other entertainments. These have proved a godsend to the communities in which they have been established. In some of the camps there are small club-rooms above the mess halls, containing billiard and pool tables, and dance halls. They are used and supported by voluntary associations of employees. But the absence of a competent recreation director and of a system of entertainments and theatricals renders them of small use. Comparatively few are provided with recreation for Sunday, the one day free for relaxation.

The negro has been entirely overlooked in the matter of recreation. Nothing whatever is done for the entertainment of the Europeans, although they are led to believe, before leaving their countries, that there are plenty of opportunities for recreation.

Discontent due to bad food, favoritism in awarding "married quarters," uncomfortable bachelor quarters, and such matters as dismissals, inequalities as regards wages, hours, vacations, and sick-leave provisions, will be reduced greatly, without doubt, by the forming of a conciliation board to consider all labor grievances. Such a board is now contemplated by the Chairman, whose intention it is to have upon it a representative of the Commission, a representative of the trade involved, and a representative of the foreman under whom the complainant works.

It is of the highest importance to the enterprise that the reforms noted which are based upon real needs be expeditiously introduced, for whatever can be done to maintain a competent and permanent force of employees will be a contribution to the efficiency of the work.

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CIVIL WAR BATTLES AND LEADERS[1]

HISTORY written by participants is usually not conspicuous for sobriety, fairness, and that judicial detachment which alone permits the viewing of men and measures in true perspective. Especially is bias likely to predominate when the theme is some great religious, political, or military struggle. But this general rule, like all general rules, has its exceptions, and once in a while an actor in a historic conflict succeeds in so suppressing his personal prejudices and prepossessions that his narrative reaches a high standard of authoritativeness. Such is the case with a recent contribution to the military history of the Civil War, General E. P. Alexander's "Military Memoirs of a Confederate." Its author, being human, still retains some of the sentiments and illusions that swayed him and his fellows when they took up arms. And, here and there, in his critical analysis of leaders, campaigns, and battles, he reaches conclusions which may justly be challenged. But, in the aggregate, his statements are so obviously the result of close observation, sober reflection, and discriminating judgment that his work will rank high among books of its kind.

At the outset, while clinging to the idea that the South fought in defense, not of slavery, but of the right of self-government, General Alexander makes very clear his appreciation of the great truth that the actual outcome of the war was a blessing to the South as well as to the North. We find him writing:

> We now enjoy the rare privilege of seeing what we fought for in the retrospect. It no longer seems so desirable. It would now prove only a curse. We have good cause to thank God for our escape from it, not alone for our sake, but for that of the whole country, and even of the world. Had our cause succeeded, divergent interests must soon have further separated the States into groups, and this continent would have been given over to divided nationalities, each weak and unable to command foreign credit. Since the days of Greece, confederacies have only held together against foreign enemies, and in times of peace have soon disintegrated. It is surely not necessary to contrast what would have been our prospects as citizens of such states with our condition now as citizens of the strongest, richest, and—strange for us to say who once called ourselves "conquered" and our cause "lost"—the freeest nation on earth.

There could scarcely be a franker confession than this, or a more auspicious opening to a work whose main purpose is to afford a thorough understanding of some of the most important military operations of the war. As a rule, General Alexander confines himself to a discussion of the engagements in which he personally participated, but these were not few in number. Originally an officer in the United States army, and a West Point man, the outbreak of hostilities found him stationed on the Pacific coast. It was tacitly understood, he relates, that every officer would go with his State, and as General Alexander's State happened to be Georgia, he resigned and made his way east. At Richmond he found awaiting him a commission as captain of engineers in the Confederate army, and thereafter, in various capacities, he served throughout the war, chiefly under Longstreet, of whose artillery he had command at the battle of Gettysburg. Besides Gettysburg, his recollections include first and second Bull Run, Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Jackson's "Valley" campaign, the "Seven Days" campaign, Malvern Hill, South Mountain, Harper's Ferry, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, the Wilderness, and the long-drawn-out duel between Grant and Lee, culminating in the surrender at Appomattox. In every case his method is to study the conflict from the strictly military standpoint, analyzing the different moves as one would analyze a game of chess, pointing out defects, and indicating decisive causes of success and failure.

Necessarily, much that he says is already familiar to the student of the

[1] Military Memoirs of a Confederate. By E. P. Alexander. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $4, net.

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military history of the war, but there is a good deal that is novel and even astonishing. Particularly is this true of his comments on the famous Southern leaders, Lee, Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston, whom he criticises with a frankness paralleled only by his admission as to the outcome of the war. Johnston, in especial, comes in for some caustic censure. Not only is it charged that he was distinctly overcautious, but his handling of the army at Fair Oaks or Seven Pines is condemned as an utter failure. "It must be admitted," adds General Alexander, dryly, "that at Seven Pines our prospects, had Johnston not been wounded, would have been dismal." Nor does he seem to think that Davis's removal of Johnston, after the latter's failure to stop Sherman in the fall of 1864, was in any way an error. It is useless, he admits, to speculate on what might have happened had Johnston been left in command, "but it is a fact that Johnston had never fought but one aggressive battle, the battle of Seven Pines, which was phenomenally mismanaged."

Similarly, though otherwise he has little save praise for the "stone wall" commander, he believes Jackson blundered badly in the "Seven Days" campaign of 1862. "He nowhere, even d stantly, approached his record as a soldier won in his every other battle, either before or afterward. . . . Nothing that he had to do was done with the vigor which marked all the rest of his career." Specifying, General Alexander declares that the best opportunity of the whole campaign was thrown away by Jackson's allowing his men to keep Sunday in camp, and not pressing them harder when on the march. Had he but advanced "with the fierce swiftness natural to him on such occasions," it is General Alexander's conviction that "a comparatively easy victory would have resulted." And in the "Valley" campaign, while alive to its importance to the Confederate cause and bestowing upon Jackson the praise his sterling courage demands, he cannot help lamenting the "fatal facility for blundering" which here as elsewhere, in his opinion, prevented the South from enjoying the "full fruits of victory."

As to Lee, criticism hinges chiefly on his invasion of Pennsylvania, his failure at Gettysburg to appreciate "the strongest features of the enemy's position," and his giving battle to McClellan at Antietam. At Antietam, we read, "Lee took a great risk for no chance of gain except the killing of some thousands of his enemy, with the loss of perhaps two-thirds as many of his own men. That was a losing game for the Confederacy. Its supply of men was limited; that of the enemy was not." And, instead of invading Pennsylvania, General Alexander thinks that Lee should have acted on Longstreet's suggestion and moved against Rosecrans for the purpose of drawing Grant from Vicksburg. Still, he does not agree with those who deem Gettysburg the turning-point of the war. If there were a "turning-point," which he seems inclined to doubt—"possibly the South never had any real chance of success from the first, and the actual crisis was passed when she fired the first gun"—it came rather during the three days of June, 1864, when Grant secretly carried his army over the James and invested Petersburg. Oddly enough, while giving Grant full credit for this crowning piece of strategy, General Alexander elsewhere asserts that he was "literally driven" into the position that was certain to bring about his possession of Richmond and, as it developed, the end of the war.

Grant, like Lee, General Alexander clearly regards as a master of warcraft, and he willingly pays tribute to his "great and rare qualities" and to his generosity in the hour of victory. The judgment passed on McClellan by historians generally is also voiced by him:

> He would have been an excellent chief of staff, but was unfit for the command of an army. He was as utterly without audacity as Lee was full of it. His one fine quality was his ability to organize and discipline. He constructed a superb machine, which, being once constructed, would fight a battle with skill and courage if only let alone. McClellan, during the Seven Days, let it alone, absenting himself as if by instinct. Never but at the battle of Sharpsburg [Antietam] was he present on any field, and his presence, by keeping Porter's corps out of the action, made a drawn fight out of what would otherwise have been a Federal victory.

Of Sherman, General Alexander has uncommonly little to say, practically his

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only comment being found in an allusion to the devastating march through Georgia—"This was excused on the ground that 'War is Hell.' It depends somewhat upon the warrior." Per contra, some of the scapegoats of the earlier Union failures receive hearty commendation. The removal of Porter, it is asserted, deprived the North of "one among its officers of the very highest type," and a commander so dreaded by the Confederates that they accounted his retirement one of the most welcome results of the second Bull Run. And of Burnside, "Whatever may be said of Burnside's strategy or tactics, he was not devoid of moral courage."

For the benefit of those who would read this book simply for the light it throws on military strategy and tactics, we would add that General Alexander consistently develops from battle to battle the lessons emphasized by the experiences of both sides. His work, indeed, is intended primarily for military students. But it is so constructed as to be of great general interest, and of no uncertain value to all who would increase their knowledge of the severest crisis through which our country has passed.

Comment on Current Books

Novels and Tales

There is a *verve* about everything that comes from the facile pen of F. Hopkinson Smith that is as distinct as it is hard to define. It is the same influence that one feels in the company of an alert, clean-minded, athletic youth who is telling you of his every-day doings, and indicating thereby his high ideals. In "The Romance of an Old-Fashioned Gentleman"[1] we have the wholesome, noble, self-controlled side of a situation continually presented from the opposite side. A man who can deny himself and his love is shown as a strong, well-developed character—a man who has learned the lesson of life so well that he is able to guide others. His crisis long past, though the hurt is never healed, he grasps in his strong hand a younger man when he faces bitter temptation, and leads him safely through it. The women in the story are the sort Mr. Smith knows, as well as Howells knows his kind. It is hardly necessary to say the types differ. "The Romance of an Old-Fashioned Gentleman" is both beautiful and true. It is presented in dainty form with colored illustrations by A. I. Keller.

Politics and business are sturdy rivals in the field of fiction. Love problems and stirring adventure no longer are supreme. "The Radical"[2] plunges the reader into a vortex of political excitement. The hero, a man of the people, homely, a dreamer, yet powerful, in some of his traits seems to be modeled upon Lincoln. His aim is democratic, and so far as this book goes he seems to fail of attaining it. The subject is intricate and may account for the somewhat over-involved style of writing, which leaves anything but a clear impression in the reader's mind.

The lover of "My Lady Caprice"[1] stepped lightly over the obstacles placed in his path by the maiden's ambitious aunt, and, with the aid of an Imp, the imaginative nephew of her ladyship, went steadily on upon his course of true love. Jeffery Farnol, the writer of this gay romance, uses the little boy, enamored of adventure and precocious in the impersonation of his favorite, Robin Hood, to dramatic advantage. The publishers have set the story in an elaborate binding, colored plates, and bewildering marginal decorations. It is also inclosed in a new kind of open-faced slip cover.

The "high places" in the story of that name[2] by Dolores Bacon are by no means moral heights. They are the dizzy elevations chosen by the actors in high finance. Daring and dangerous business abroad, and equally risky and far more dangerous social experiments at home, compass the life of Trowbridge Drayton. He conducts the former, his absolutely immoral wife manages the latter. A contrasted scene is the attractive picture of the home life on the East Side of two simple-hearted German musicians—whither Drayton goes occasionally to renew his faith in human nature. In many respects the novel is disagreeable—in some unnecessarily so—but the plea that it is true to life can be supported, without doubt. Jean Meredeth, the business woman, who shows her feminine nature even in her manipulations

[1] The Romance of an Old-Fashioned Gentleman. By F. Hopkinson Smith. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.
[2] The Radical. By I. K. Friedman. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

[1] My Lady Caprice. By Jeffery Farnol. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.
[2] In High Places. By Dolores Bacon. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.

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of the money market, is a novel character. The corruption of a certain part of New York society is painted in unrelieved blackness.

Mr. Emerson Hough usually writes with energy and an abundance of local and historical color. His "The Way of a Man" [1] is a tale of love, adventure, and villainy, with the scene first in Virginia before the war, then out on the plains, where hero and heroine are lost together for weeks, and barely survive the ordeal. There are plenty of thrill and suspense—possibly a trifle too much. The imperturbable English scoundrel who nearly ruins everything and everybody is a little trying to the reader's sensibilities, and also to his powers of credulity.

The opening chapters of Lloyd Osbourne's "The Adventurer" [2] are capitally managed so as to excite curiosity and foreshadow a mystery, and one inclines to chuckle at the author's *aplomb* in introducing as a character Rudyard Kipling under a thin disguise. But from the point where the reader learns that the mysterious project in which the "adventurer" has been enlisted is the sailing of a wonderful land ship on wheels over South American pampas to a place of hidden treasure, the tale becomes ordinary and hardly worth while even as a plot-story.

One welcomes in Mr. Vachell's "Her Son" [3] a sincere effort at something more than mere lively story-telling. The book goes beneath the surface in its study of motive and character, and although it sometimes touches on delicate ground, it holds up a high standard of honor, faithfulness, and nobility of purpose. The title refers to the main incident of the plot—the adoption by a young woman of the illegitimate son of a man she has loved but supposes to be dead.

We never like O. Henry quite as well anywhere else as when he writes of "little old New York," as his characters call it. But there are some first-rate stories of frontier life in his "Heart of the West," [4] humorous in the extravagant way now a sort of fashion, but with that genuinely original touch which marks most of this author's work. Three or four of the stories are markedly inferior to the rest.

Arsène Lupin, in the detective story of that name,[5] is a delightfully clever scamp who cares more for his reputation as the greatest genius in his line than he does for mere pelf. The book is lively and witty in the French manner, and the courteous trial of wits between Arsène and Sherlock Holmes at the end is most impressive.

A new writer gives us a homely, vivid, scrappy picture of northern New England, about the Revolutionary period, in a singular little book called "A Turnpike Lady." [1] One feels that the author has real sympathy with her subject and characters, and that, despite her abrupt and disjointed manner of telling the tale, it is really worth having. The reader closes the book with the hope that he may meet the author again.

A New Book of Quotations

The reference shelf cannot have too many books of quotation, because, although these volumes in a measure duplicate one the other, yet when scholarship and care have been employed in the compilation each must have new material of real value, a new field as regards inclusiveness, and a new method of presenting the chosen poems. The present work [2] differs from our old friend and companion, "Bartlett's Quotations," in that it is, as the author states at the outset, a collection of "what is quotable as well as what is quoted." A slight examination will show that a good deal of original research has been employed in the work. The arrangement, classification, and indexings of the book are all commendable. Fully one-half of the work is occupied by extracts grouped under such general heads as Waifs and Strays, Folk Lore, Proverbs, Phrases, Greek Quotations, German Quotations, and the like. Although the book is of English origin, a reasonable amount of attention seems to have been given to American authors.

The Story of the Hymns and Tunes

Based on the "Story of the Hymns," by the late Hezekiah Butterworth, editor of the Youth's Companion, here is a substantially new book [3] by his associate, Mr. Brown. It is more inclusive than several recent books in the same general field. It possesses the distinctive merit of giving equal notice to the tune and to the hymn which has been wedded to it, to the writers of the music and to the writers of the words. Nearly four hundred and fifty hymns are included, from the "Te Deum" to "Crossing the Bar," and these are helpfully classified. Among other groups, such as "Hymns

[1] The Way of a Man. By Emerson Hough. The Outing Publishing Company, New York. $1.50.
[2] The Adventurer. By Lloyd Osbourne. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.
[3] Her Son. By Horace Annesley Vachell. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.
[4] Heart of the West. By O. Henry. The McClure Company, New York. $1.50.
[5] The Exploits of Arsène Lupin. By Maurice Leblanc. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.

[1] A Turnpike Lady. By Sarah N. Cleghorn. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.25.
[2] A Book of Quotations, Proverbs, and Household Words. By W. Gurney Benham. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $3.
[3] The Story of Hymns and Tunes. By Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth. The American Tract Society, New York. $1.50.

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of Great Witnesses," "Old Revival Hymns," "Christian Ballads," "Sailors' Hymns," a place is deservedly made for "Hymns of Wales," immemorially a land of song; and, notwithstanding the critics' objection to "degenerate psalmody," for a number of the "Gospel Hymns," with their tunes. Mr. Brown gives a sound reason for not excluding these: "They are the modern lay songs that go with the modern lay sermons." Some good hymns now widely current will not be found in this collection; *e.g.:*

"O Master, let me walk with Thee;"
"The Church's one foundation;"

but it does not aim to be encyclopædic. It is illustrated by twenty-four portraits.

Through Scylla and Charybdis

The author of this book[1] has been characterized by a French contemporary as "the most philosophical apologist" of Catholicism in England. He holds that theology is a progressive science. He repudiates the fiction of Papal infallibility. Consequently he has been under ban for nearly two years. Though a priest, he is an enemy of sacerdotalism, which, he says, is to the Church what bureaucracy is to the State. Recently a Jesuit, he declares that the Catholic religion knows no such thing as "unconditioned obedience to an avowedly conditioned authority." Catholicism, as he understands it, is quite different from the theory of it in the current manuals. Theology as a science is quite another thing to him than "theologism, the enemy alike of faith and reason." What he rejects in Protestantism is its individualism unbalanced by the total experience of the community, to which the Catholic subordinates himself. Profoundly convinced of the immanence of God, he regards revelation as consisting in religious experience as summed up in the apostolic age and subsequent reproductions of the same. Theology consists in the verbal or symbolic interpretations of this, which may differ as a savage and a scientist may differ in their understanding of a thunder-storm. Not a formula or a creed, but an experience, is the original "deposit of faith," and liberal theology claims only that it is more true to this experience than the scholastic theology. Ecclesiastical dogmas are simply the temporarily "protective husk wrapped around the kernel of the apostolic revelation." This conception makes peace between faith and reason. Religion is natural to man because of the divine immanence, and Catholicism is "divine with the divinity of a natural process." The differences between a spiritually minded Catholic like Father Tyrrell and a spiritually minded Protestant are merely superficial. His book, though addressed to Catholics, is profitable reading for Protestants also, many of whom need some of its lessons.

[1] Through Scylla and Charybdis. By George Tyrrell. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.

More Adams Correspondence

Another volume[1] has been added to the Cushing edition of the writings of Samuel Adams, publication of which was begun three years ago. It includes Adams's correspondence during 1773–1777—that is to say, through the years of the Boston Tea Party, the Battle of Lexington, and the Declaration of Independence—and, like its predecessors, is a valuable addition to the documentary study of the Revolutionary period. Comparatively few of the letters are of a private nature, and even these are filled with data bearing on the public affairs in which their writer played so prominent a part. The first portion of the volume consists mainly of communications prepared by Adams in connection with his activities on the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and gives a vivid idea of the feverish anxiety with which, as he noted the rising storm, he agitated the sentiment of united resistance to the mother country. Thereafter most interest attaches to the letters written while he in was Philadelphia as a member of the Continental Congress, and these, taken as a whole, mirror faithfully the conflicting emotions roused in him by the stirring events that immediately preceded and followed the Declaration of Independence. That he took the lead in promoting the movement for independence as well as in agitating revolution is plainly shown by the correspondence here reproduced; and the further one progresses through his writings the stronger grows the conviction that the credit commonly accorded him as "father" of the American struggle for liberty has not been misplaced.

A Spring Fortnight in France

This record of travel,[2] lightly held together by a pretty element of romance, will serve to recall to many minds happy memories. Angela Victoria, aged thirty-six, quite under the control of an older and very energetic sister, by a happy accident is left to make a little journey through central France, all by herself. She dislikes plans, and is free to follow her own desires for the first time. Her wanderings take her in somewhat zigzag fashion from Paris to

[1] The Writings of Samuel Adams. Collected and Edited by Harry Alonzo Cushing. Vol. III. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5, net.

[2] A Spring Fortnight in France. By Josephine Tozier. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2, net.

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Tarascon, of delightful associations. Ten cities claim her attention on the way. Before long a young girl cousin of kindred tastes, and a chance acquaintance, a man of parts, attach themselves to her and are charmingly indicated. The author, Josephine Tozier, besides knowing her France, is gifted with vivacity, and imparts all the information we want in most engaging style. We do not mind reading the history of the old towns if we can do it "after we have seen the places," as Margot says she likes to do. The profusion of photographs, the good sketches and enticing maps, with the graceful story itself, make us really wish, for once, to be informed before we "see the places."

The France of To-Day

It is said that a French translation of Milton renders "Hail, horrors, hail!" by "Comment vous portez-vous, Messieurs Horrors, comment vous portez-vous?" We do not vouch for the truth of the story. But, true or false, it serves as a very good satire on translations. To translate a book into another language is a very difficult task; for the translator must not only be a master of two languages, but he must sympathetically understand two dissimilar temperaments, else he cannot interpret the language of one people so as to be understood by a different people. Professor Barrett Wendell has undertaken a more difficult task. He aims to interpret, not one Frenchman, but the French people.[1] He undertakes to portray their character, to explain what to the Anglo-Saxon appear to be strange contradictions in their conduct, to interpret their life, to a people whose temperament is antagonistic and whose point of view is widely different. His success appears to us to be remarkable. He has succeeded in the difficult task of detaching himself completely from both the Americans to whom he writes and the Frenchmen of whom he writes. He is appreciative without being eulogistic, discriminating without being critical. He is perhaps inclined at times to be too partial to the French temperament, as in his endeavor to explain the licentious quality in much of French art and French literature; and sometimes we find him vague, as in his endeavor to discover a religious spirit in the French freethinker. But in general his catholic spirit is wholly admirable, his insight keen, his conceptions clear, and his style felicitous. Not even Philip Gilbert Hamerton has given a better or more attractive picture of French domestic life than has Professor Wendell in his chapter on the French family; and nothing in Mr. Morley's French studies is better than Professor Wendell's discriminating comparison of French and Anglo-Saxon candor. The book is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the French.

[1] The France of To-Day. By Barrett Wendell. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.

The Wagnerian Romances

The magnificent art of music has overshadowed her sister art, literature, in presenting these romances to the people. In order to restore the balance, and to convey an idea of the great power of the poems, Miss Gertrude Hall has elaborated them in a volume of essays. She does not assume the rôle of critic, nor indeed of interpreter; she simply offers the wonderful myths, deriving them directly and exclusively from the Wagner libretti and scores. These are inadequate, and unless one has a knowledge of German the student is hampered. While the author's method in this book[1] is excellent, and she is able to preserve the intense spirit and mystic atmosphere of the great romances, her English occasionally suffers from too literal a rendering of the German. With that unimportant reservation, one can thoroughly enjoy her conscientious and sympathetic work. "Parsifal," "The Ring of the Nibelung," "The Master Singers," "Tristan and Isolde," "Lohengrin," "Tannhäuser," and "The Flying Dutchman" in dazzling splendor move before our eyes.

Anecdotes About Lincoln

The author of this book,[2] Mr. David H. Bates, was manager of the War Department's telegraph office from 1861 to 1866, and was also its chief operator in cipher despatches. He was often called upon to decipher important messages direct from the seat of war, and not infrequently President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton, and other great figures in the Government hung breathlessly over his shoulder while the news of victory or defeat was puzzled out word by word and letter by letter. Indeed, President Lincoln was accustomed to spend not a little time in the telegraph office, and often found it a welcome refuge when unable to work elsewhere. Mr. Bates tells us, in fact, that a large part of the work of writing the Emancipation Proclamation was done at an old desk in the telegraph office. It cannot be said that Mr. Bates's book of reminiscence is very important, but it is certainly fresh and original, and contains not a few incidents of Washington life and some stories about Lincoln himself which are decidedly worth preservation.

[1] The Wagnerian Romances. By Gertrude Hall. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.50, net. Postage, 15c.
[2] Lincoln in the Telegraph Office. By David Homer Bates. The Century Company, New York. $2, net. Postage, 17c.

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Letters to The Outlook

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN OHIO

The people who are making the fight for decent city government in Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, and our other cities are not a little distressed, and even somewhat indignant, at the apparent attitude of the President, or at least of the President's friends, towards their movement, and were very much shocked at some of the utterances of Secretary Taft, especially the one made at Seattle just before sailing for the East, with regard to the connection between the fight in Cleveland and National Republican interests. The reputed acts of the President, Mr. Taft, and their friends had given us great anxiety before, but we tried to explain them away by the temptation to interfere in city affairs on the eve of a National election. This utterance of Secretary Taft, if correct, confirms, however, the fear that our great leaders, whose policies we so much desire to see succeed, are not yet entirely clear on this matter of non-partisanship in city affairs, but yield to temptation, as weaker men do, and are ready to sacrifice our most precious home interests to those of the National party. You will not misunderstand me when I say that the recent editorial in The Outlook on the Cleveland situation, quoting the letter from the President to Mr. Burton and explaining that it did not mean that the President intended to interfere in Cleveland, was not at all satisfactory to us. Whether just or not, practically all the people in Ohio in both parties believe that the President's action in the Cleveland matter was taken in the interest of Mr. Taft, Mr. Burton, and the Republican party in Ohio. I hope that this may be wrong, but the facts which I shall state to you make it difficult to understand his action in any other way. The truth is that the Republican party in Ohio was in a very bad way indeed, and there was great danger that Mr. Taft's State might go over to the Democrats. The anti-saloon movement in the country and the reform movement in the cities, particularly Tom Johnson's influence in Cleveland, have been steadily winning over the old Republican vote, and something had to be done.

Our noble President needs the frank criticism of his friends more than most men, because of his impulsive nature; and it was a little disappointing to find The Outlook, which has usually been so true and sane on these subjects, defending his course in the Cleveland matter.

An effort is being made to organize a new leadership for the Republican party in Ohio. Something has been accomplished in this way in the State and in Cleveland; but in Cincinnati the party has now been put in the hands of the old gang, and there is danger that it will slip back into the control of the bad, old leaders all over the State.

The best people in Ohio admire Mr. Burton very much. His work for the Nation has been immensely valuable, and he has not been fairly treated by the Ohio Republican leaders. He is ambitious to go to the United States Senate, and his friends would like to see him there; but he cannot go unless the Republicans carry the Legislature the next time. In order to do this his friends think that he must beat Johnson, establish his local leadership, and win back the Republicans of northern Ohio to the old party. This is clearly his programme, and it would not be a bad one if he were not supported exclusively by the corporation and capitalistic interests in Cleveland. These interests in Cleveland, which hate Tom Johnson and his supposed Socialistic theories so intensely, are using Mr. Burton to get rid of Johnson and to re establish themselves. It is generally believed in Ohio that Burton will be beaten. Johnson, although a visionary radical, has given Cleveland the best government it ever had, and one of the best in the country. The example of Cleveland has been a stimulus to us, and it would be a shame to put an end to the good work there.

As the non-partisan, thinking people in Ohio see it, the situation is as follows: Owing to the abominable misgovernment of the party controlled by Hanna and afterwards by Foraker and Cox, the State has been going over very rapidly to the Independents and Democrats. You will recall the results of the election two years ago, when the Johnson influence in Cleveland and northern Ohio, the Anti-Saloon League and prohibition people in the country districts, and the reform city movement in Cincinnati elected a Democratic Governor, a divided House in Columbus, and a Reform-Democratic Mayor in Cincinnati. In that struggle Mr. Taft responded to the appeals made to him by his friends, and by his brave speech at Akron did a great deal to turn the scales. The revelations made at Columbus and in Hamilton County of the long-continued thievings

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of the Cox-Foraker officials overthrew the old party management for the time. Mr. Foraker's fight on the President has made him personally so unpopular in Ohio that he is probably out of it for good; but the Republicans did not keep their hands off our cities very long. A year ago, when the county officers were to be elected along with the Congressmen, the National Administration pleaded earnestly for a full Congress of Republicans. The result was that the good Republicans were all rallied to the support of the President, and this re-elected the old thieving gang officers in the county. Men who had been convicted of stealing and compelled to make restitution of funds to the amount of $270,000 were kept in office. This was entirely the result of the appeal for a united Republican party. But we could excuse this as the fault of the people and not of the Administration and its friends, because the people should discriminate between Republican Congressmen and Republican county officers. So the municipal reformers said nothing, but organized for the municipal fight of this fall. You can imagine our dismay, however, when the friends of the Administration and even the President himself and Mr. Taft invaded our municipal field with their plea for a united Republican party in the interest of the Presidential election of next year. Our opinion with regard to their action in Cleveland is fully expressed by the article entitled "Playing the Game," in the Citizens' Bulletin of October. It is true that neither the Administration nor Mr. Taft has made any utterance or done anything directly with regard to the Columbus and the Cincinnati municipal elections, but the friends and representatives of the President and of Mr. Taft have done their best to rally all the good Republicans in support of the Cox gang and the ring in Columbus, upon the plea that it is necessary for the integrity of the party and the election of Mr. Taft. Among the most active men in doing this are Mr. Taft's brother and the President's son-in law. Doubtless these gentlemen are acting for themselves, but in view of the President's Cleveland action and of Mr. Taft's Seattle utterance, our people can hardly be expected to believe that the Administration disapproves entirely the course of its friends in Columbus and Cincinnati, who openly declare their satisfaction in Mr. Taft's absence from the country at this time and predict that there will be "no Akron speech this year to help the enemy."

The nominees of the Republican party for Mayor, etc., in Cincinnati are all the most pronounced Cox gang men. It is well known that Mr. Longworth, Mr. Fleischmann, Mr. Charles Taft, and the best friends of the Administration in the local Republican circles wanted very much to nominate a more respectable lot of officials and suggested a list of names for this purpose, but Mr. Cox cut them out and named men whom he considered "tried and true."

Thus, his nominee for Mayor represents chiefly the corporations and the saloon and gambling element, and has declared openly for the violation of the State laws in keeping the saloons open all night and on Sundays and for the liberal treatment of corporations. With regard to this situation, please read the account of the nominating convention of the Republican party, including Mr. Longworth's appeal for a united party in the interest of Mr. Taft, and Colonel Markbreit's interview with regard to his policy. Colonel Markbreit's utterance was a strictly personal one, but was probably very effective in two ways. The gang is looking to the utilities corporation for a tremendous campaign fund, and to the saloon and gambling element for their support. It is the old story again—a union of the capitalistic and criminal elements in robbing and debauching the city. One of the sad results of the situation is that the Democratic leaders, led by Mayor Dempsey, becoming convinced of the hypocrisy of the independent Republicans in their professions of non-partisanship, organized independently of the City Party and put up a ticket of their own, making it necessary for the reformers to nominate a separate ticket. So we shall have a triangular fight among the National Republicans, the National Democrats, and the City Party, with the probable result that the old gang will be returned to the full control of our municipal affairs. When we reflect that this probable wreckage is directly due to the persistence of the National Republicans in meddling in our city affairs, and chiefly to the fact that the local representatives of the President and Mr. Taft have made great errors in this regard, you can imagine how discouraged we feel. The great mass-meeting of the City Party shows, however, that that party will not die without a desperate fight. There is even hope that, if we can make the good people of Cincinnati see their duty to their own home city apart from their duty to the President and Mr. Taft, we may be able to win the fight. I believe that you can help us greatly to get them to see this.

I wish to say in conclusion that I am personally a warm supporter of both the President and Mr. Taft, and believe that the one

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or the other should be and will inevitably be our next President.

[This letter is from a citizen of Ohio who fills a position of dignity and trust in that State—a position, however, entirely non-political. His impartiality, accuracy, and sound judgment may be accepted without question. The political situation in Ohio this autumn, of which our correspondent's letter gives a very fair interpretation, has a twofold National interest. First, there is the movement, as in the City Party of Cincinnati which has been organized as a revolt against the corrupt methods of "Boss" Cox, to escape from the slavery to political bosses; second, there is the co-ordinate movement, as in Cleveland, to make the public service corporations subservient to municipal control, instead of permitting them to control the city. In our judgment, it is more important for the people of Ohio to discuss and determine these two issues than to try to "save" the State for either the Republican or the Democratic column.—THE EDITORS.]

COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ

As woman, associated, has not the coyness in counting up years that is supposedly characteristic of her sex, the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ takes some pride in announcing a twenty-fifth birthday this present November. Those of us who try not to keep too close a reckoning with time may be surprised that an organization of women graduates can have attained a quarter-centennial. Yet it was in 1882 that a group of sixty-six alumnæ met in Boston to unite for practical educational work. In the whole country then there were hardly as many women graduates as now receive degrees from our colleges in a single year. The membership now approaches five thousand, and would be larger if all the colleges giving degrees to women were admitted to corporate membership. The Boston Branch, of which the well-known Mrs. Ellen H. Richards is President, was very appropriately the hostess for this anniversary meeting, and a large proportion of the earliest members expressed their interest in person or by letter.

If named the Association of "Women College Graduates" rather than "Collegiate Alumnæ," the organization might seem less coldly academic to outsiders. But those who listened to the record of its work at this recent anniversary would have realized that it touches on many homely and practical topics; for example, domestic science, child study, teaching in the elementary schools, and social service. Fellowships for post-graduate study have been supported f many years by the Association. It has active interest in the Naples Table for Am ican women, it has a Council to accre women who are going to study at foreig universities, and it keeps close watch of t trend of the curriculum in American college So it fulfills its original purpose of doi practical educational work—and nothing educational importance is foreign to it. the first of the anniversary meetings, Mr Eva Perry Moore, of St. Louis, the Pres dent, made an effective response to t addresses of welcome by the Presidents Radcliffe, Wellesley, and Boston Universit and others connected with institutions learning in Boston. At other public mee ings President Van Hise, of the Universit of Wisconsin, President Eliot and Professo James and Palmer, of Harvard, were amon the speakers. In a general way, preser tendencies in college and university educ tion formed the theme of the speakers. Dea Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, spoke chiefly on th education of women.

On the whole, the quarter-centennial of th Association of Collegiate Alumnæ was not ble with its combination of much that wa socially delightful with what was educatio ally valuable. Moreover, it was especiall significant of the fact that the world move For it needs no long memory to recall th day when it was possible for intelligent pe sons to discuss the question whether girl were really fit to receive a college education

R.

THE RECORD IN TRACK-LAYING

Relating to the statement on page 871 o your September issue that eight miles an eighteen hundred and sixty feet is the world' record for track laid in a single day, som ancient history may be acceptable to you In the late summer of 1868 the Casements on the Union Pacific Railroad, laid seve and a half miles of track, closing their wor about 3 P.M., as they were out of materials We on the Union Pacific thought this wa good enough and would not be beaten. The Central Pacific thought otherwise, and made preparations to lay ten miles in one day Two of our people went over to see the work and, though they brought back many ex planations, they said the ten miles of track were laid. All on or about the end of the track on the Union Pacific were green with envy, but none doubted that the Central Pacific had laid ten miles of track in one day. Hence the scant eight and a half miles mentioned cannot be allowed as the world's record in track-laying. E. C. N.

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KOREA AND JAPAN

The Japanese have brought about many nprovements in Korea during the past two ears, and have made conditions of living ır easier for the mass of the people, but ıey have failed to win their support. On ıe contrary, their recent measures, which ave practically destroyed even the appear- ıce of Korean independence, particularly ıeir sudden disbandment of the whole Ko- ean army, have aroused the patriotic resent- ıent of the whole country. Throughout the entral and southern parts of Korea there re continual uprisings against the Japanese. 'he history of all of these is about the same. 'he patriots are led by the disbanded sol- iers in an attack upon the Japanese officials r merchants; these are driven out, and in ome cases murdered. Japanese troops soon rrive, easily defeat the patriots, and, owing) their better arms, frequently inflict upon ıem great loss of life. A spirit of brutality ; often shown by both sides. The Koreans ave beaten Japanese fugitives to death, 'hile Japanese policemen have murdered efenseless Korean prisoners whom they 'ere ordered to take to Seoul for trial. The Koreans are leaderless; their uprisings are isconnected, and, under present conditions olish and hopeless. The Christian churches re an important factor in the present situa- on. Outside of the Government there are ut two strong organizations in the country, ıe Church and the Il Chin Hoi—a small ut powerful Korean society, which is pro- apanese and somewhat anti-Christian. As ıe mass of the people and all of the native Christians are strongly opposed to the Japa- ese and so to the Il Chin Hoi, it is but atural that the Church should be looked pon not only as a religious but also as a atriotic society. Since the recent political isturbances began, the Koreans have been rowding into the Church; it has been esti- ıated that in the four weeks after the isbandment of the army as many as five housand enrolled themselves as members or dherents. Many were truly converted, but he movement was so largely political, either o obtain the protection of the Church or to ıse it as a patriotic organization, that many f the missionaries have refused to enroll ıew converts, even as seekers, until the pres- ıt crisis should be past. The Church, ıowever, notwithstanding its sympathies, ıas worked earnestly to keep its members ut of the anti-Japanese revolts, since it saw hat they could only result in failure. The nissionaries have not only used their influ- ence, but some have even issued the most stringent orders to their native churches. It is their action which has so far kept all northern Korea and the great majority of the Christians in the south from taking part in the uprising. These rigorous measures of the authorities disaffected the strongly patriotic Christians for a time, but they have now very generally come to admit the wisdom of their leaders. The probability is that these disturbances will continue for some weeks in the country districts of southern Korea.

When the news reached Kang-Wan, an island not far from Chemulpo, that the Korean soldiers were to be disbanded, a number of soldiers who were there at the time—exactly forty-eight—broke into the local arsenal, where several hundred rifles were stored, armed the local patriots, attacked the Japanese police, killing one and driving the others away. They also murdered the Il Chin Hoi mayor of the city. The next day thirty Japanese soldiers came up from Chemulpo in a launch. When they neared the landing-place from which one goes up to Kang-Wan city, some three miles off, there were one hundred and twenty armed Koreans waiting for them behind an old fort which overlooks the landing. They waited till the Japanese were near shore and then opened fire, killing five and wounding five. The remaining twenty, however, got to land, and, with the help of a rapid-fire gun which they had with them, drove the Koreans away and captured the fort. By daybreak next morning these twenty advanced against Kang-Wan city, a place of some five or six thousand, defended by a wall and gates. There were some hundreds of armed Koreans inside, but the plucky twenty captured one part of the wall, brought up their rapid-fire gun, and were masters of the situation. The whole city then disappeared—went off to the woods—not a house was occupied. Seven of the Koreans were arrested and tortured—some say by beating, some by a more severe method. Three were Christians, whom the missionaries felt were innocent. They were promised a fair trial and were given in charge of Japanese police, who took them down to the beach where the first fighting had occurred and there murdered them. They had their hands tied behind their backs, and after the shooting some of the bodies had the hands still so tied. The Japanese at first said that one man tried to escape, so all had to be shot. The higher Japanese officials were extremely sorry about the affair, and I think that it was an act of revenge on the part of the police. The authorities wished to restore conditions and offered an amnesty to all but the forty-eight soldiers; still the people would not all return to their homes.

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So Dr. Jones, a leading Methodist missionary, went down with the Japanese officials, investigated, and gave the Christians his assurance that they would be protected. One great trouble was in the fact that the Il Chin Hoi, which now came into power, kept the Christians in a state of abject terror by telling them that certain of them were to be arrested and others executed, and by using threats themselves. The Japanese authorities whom I met could not have acted any better than they did.

All sorts of foolish rumors go about. It was stated that the Japanese had executed a great number of the Kang-Wan people and had stuck their heads on the city wall. The Koreans believe and repeat anything. They even thought that American men-of-war were a few miles off, coming to help them drive off the Japanese. The cause of this was the presence in Chemulpo of an American ship. This story is typical of conditions in Korea, so far as this general patriotic outbreak is concerned.

The Japanese are intensely unpopular in Manchuria and in Korea, and, I am told, in every other part of the East. The dislike which the mass of the English and Americans in the East feel for them is almost bitter. Personally, I like and admire them.

G. H. BLAKESLEE.

Nagasaki, Japan.

[This interesting letter was written early in September, and since then there has been little if any attempt at resistance to the Japanese overlordship by the Koreans. Since then also, Prince Ito, the Japanese Resident-General in Korea, has earnestly declared Japan's intention to establish justice in Korea, and has outlined a plan which includes adequate land laws, a fair system of taxation, the protection of life and property, education for every one, honest courts of justice, and "the stern abolition of corruption."—THE EDITORS.]

ANTS AGAIN

In your issue of September 14 I read with interest Mr. Prescott's story, "A Battle of Ants." Now, if you please, I will tell *my* story, which I think quite as curious.

One summer morning my maid said to me, "I wonder where the dead ants come from. I have brushed them off the steps of the back porch two or three times, and now they are there again." At once I said, "There has been a battle." I had read Dr. McCook on Ants. I went out, and this is what I saw: At the end of the porch five steps go down to the ground; one end of the steps rests against the house, with cracks between, where they do not quite join; from these cracks came processions of large black ants, each one carrying a dead one; they would go to the edge, look over, hesitate, then drop their load to the step below; then turn back in haste. As the two parties met, those going and those coming, they would occasionally stop and seem to speak to one another. At last the procession of bearers became thinner and their work was done.

It was so interesting to see this intelligent insect work, and I was sorry I had not seen the beginning of the fray. A. L.

A WORK WELL WORTH HELPING

Under our prison system the punishment imposed by the court often falls far more heavily on the family than on the prisoner. The latter is sure of shelter, food, and clothing; the wife and children, deprived of the breadwinner, often lack the necessities of life. The Prison Association is trying to alleviate this suffering.

First by extending the probation system. Under this system the offender is not taken away from his work or his family, but is held under proper surveillance. If a fine is imposed, he can pay it in installments and not be sent to prison because he has no money, as happens in thousands of cases. In a single year probationers placed in our custody, in addition to supporting themselves and their families, have paid $4,800 as restitution to the victims of their crimes.

Second, we are helping needy families of sentenced prisoners in special cases where thorough investigation justifies it.

Will you not help us in this work? Checks may be sent to Mr. J. Seely Ward, Jr., Treasurer, 135 East Fifteenth Street.

S. J. BARROWS,
Corresponding Secretary, The Prison Association of New York.

BOOKS FOR SOLDIERS

May I ask your readers to do something for the soldiers of the Thirty-ninth Company, Coast Artillery, stationed at Fort De Soto, Florida? This army post offers no amusements whatever to the men, and the nearest town is thirty-four miles distant. The post has no library, and naturally the men have no money to spare for books out of their small pay. Their days and duties would undoubtedly be much brightened by some interesting books, which they would greatly appreciate. Any one desiring to send one or more books for the soldiers will please address them to the Commanding Officer, Thirty-ninth Company, Coast Artillery, Fort De Soto, Florida. F. E. H.

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